Animal Sacrifice in the Ancient Greek World

Edited by Sarah Hitch and Ian Rutherford



ANIMAL SACRIFICE IN THE ANCIENT GREEK WORLD

This volume brings together studies on Greek animal sacrifice by foremost experts in Greek language, literature and material culture. Readers will benefit from the synthesis of new evidence and approaches with a re-evaluation of twentieth-century theories on sacrifice. The chapters range across the whole of antiquity and go beyond the Greek world to consider possible influences in Hittite Anatolia and Egypt, while an introduction to the burgeoning science of osteo-archaeology is provided. The twentieth-century emphasis on sacrifice as part of the Classical Greek *polis* system is challenged through consideration of various ancient perspectives on sacrifice as distinct from specific political or even Greek contexts. Many previously unexplored topics are covered, particularly the type of animals sacrificed and the spectrum of sacrificial ritual, from libations to lasting memorials of the ritual in art.

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Introduction

Sarah Hitch, Fred Naiden and Ian Rutherford

Animal sacrifice was not the most common ritual in the ancient world. That distinction surely goes to prayer and also to the broad category of offerings, which are the best-attested practice in the archaeological record. Nevertheless, animal sacrifice was uniquely complex and prestigious, important not only within the cultures of the ancient Mediterranean and Western Asia,[1] but as far afield as India and China.[2] It is still practised all over the world; for example it has been documented in many parts of Africa.[3] When it develops in human history is still uncertain, but it seems likely to go back at least as far as the Neolithic, when animals are first domesticated, and it could be much earlier.[4]

Nowhere does it seem to have been more important than in Greece, where to 'perform the sacred things' often meant to sacrifice animals. It is found in all periods of Greek history, from the Bronze Age right down to the late Roman Empire. It begins to disappear only under pressure from Christianity, which nevertheless preserved sacrifice as a religious symbol.[5] The Greeks seem to have regarded their form of sacrifice as distinct from those of other peoples, and the surviving evidence – literary texts, inscriptions, iconography and zooarchaeological data – does indeed suggest a high degree of uniformity, albeit with local variations.[6]

[1] Near East: Pongratz-Leisten (2012); Maul (2008), Abusch (2002); Recht (2015).
[2] India: Biardeau and Malamoud (1976); China: Stercx (2011); Campbell (2012).
[3] Africa: Sundermeier (2002), de Heusch (1985), Insoll (2010).
[4] See, e.g., Graf (2012:49–50); Insoll (2011), Evans-Pritchard (1954). Domestication: J. Z. Smith (1987).
[5] For Mycenaean Greece, see Rutherford (2013:265). For the Christian attitude to sacrifice, see now Stroumsa (2009), Petropoulou (2008), Ullucci (2012).
[6] For variations in the practice of animal sacrifice in Greece, the *locus classicus* is the demonstration in the Herodotean Life of Homer (523–37) that Homer must have been Aeolian because he does not describe the burning of the *osphus* (sacrum bone); for the use of the *osphus* in sacrifice, see Carbon in this volume (Chapter 6).

At the same time, it was a complex system comprising several sacrificial scripts.[7] In the best-known script, the killing of an animal is preceded by vegetal offerings and prayers, and followed by the burning of symbolic parts of it on the altar, libations, and the consumption of the rest by an assembled group of worshippers. Here the gods were not imagined as taking part in the human feast, but in another script, the so-called *theoxenia* ritual, they supposedly ate both meat and other foods.[8] In a third common script the animal was burned whole and there were no vegetal offerings or libations. If the remains were buried in a pit, the ritual was directed to a special class of divinities usually called chthonic.[9]

Sacrifice also occurred frequently as part of other rituals, such as purification, oath-taking and divination,[10] or as part of longer sequences, such as a vow followed by a later sacrifice. No less important was the practice of using substitutes for sacrifice: early in antiquity, models of sacrificial animals supplemented, anticipated, or replaced acts of sacrifice; later, payment of fees gave worshippers access to sacrificial altars, and some sacrifices were commuted into cash payments. Common to all its forms is the idea of some kind of reciprocal communication with the divine realm by offering of a gift meant to secure divine good will or avert divine anger.[11]

Until Christians and some pagan philosophers began to make concerted criticisms of it early in the Common Era, the Greeks did not frequently talk about the meaning of sacrifice as opposed to the ways and means of successfully performing the ritual.[12] (Hesiod's view that sacrifice originated in Prometheus' attempt to deceive Zeus was never authoritative.)[13] The modern taste, on the other hand, tends to have been to go in for grand theories about the significance of sacrifice:[14] according to one influential theory, it is all about the person making the offering, who achieves a moment of intense, status-transforming communication with the deity, and, since such contact is dangerous, the sacrificial victim is destroyed in

[7] A good up-to-date survey is that in *ThesCRA* 1 (2004):59–134 (A. Hermary, M. Leguilloux, V. Chankowski, A. Petropoulou).
[8] *Theoxenia*: Jameson (1994a); Ekroth (2011).
[9] For chthonic rituals, see Scullion (1994), Ekroth (2002).
[10] For purification, see Georgoudi in this volume (Chapter 4); for oath-taking, see Seaford in this volume (Chapter 9).
[11] See Ullucci (2012:24–8) on the 'reciprocal logic of sacrifice'; Pierce (1993).
[12] In other words, Greek sacrifice is 'non-discursive', to use the terminology of Ullucci (2012:21). For Greco-Roman accounts of the origin of sacrifice, see Prescendi (2007:169–223).
[13] Hes. *Theog.* 535–57. Significantly, this aetiology is not explicitly referred to in any author in the Classical period: Parker (2011:140).
[14] Useful guides include Carter (2003) and the introduction to Knust and Várhelyi (2011).

the process as a substitute for the communicant and other worshippers.[15] Another theory influential among Hellenists emphasises communal dining, which has the effect of creating and reinforcing group solidarity and/or internal hierarchy;[16] a recent formulation of this theory sees it as a device used by male kinship groups to assert control over human reproduction;[17] a related theory developed by Walter Burkert envisions communal solidarity generated by directing aggression onto the sacrificial victim.[18]

These big theories have recently met with criticism,[19] but their chief drawback is not what they may get wrong, but what they omit. On the one hand, sacrifice let worshippers honour and communicate with the gods, and on the other hand, it let them increase their individual or collective prestige. It had, so to speak, a vertical and a horizontal dimension. Each of these two dimensions needs to be understood in connection with the other. The theology and the sociology of sacrifice need to be analysed together.

Though the grand theories are in retreat, interest in animal sacrifice seems to have intensified in recent years.[20] Often, case-studies deal with traditions of sacrifice from certain phases of Greco-Roman religion, from certain periods, or from neighbouring cultures. Other research deals with the representation of sacrifice in a specific medium. Scholars aim not to confirm the correctness of one particular model, but to explore differences. We also see a focus on the idiosyncrasies of the evidence: epigraphical sources, such as sacred laws, sacred calendars and other regulations set up by the *polis* or other bodies;[21] representations of sacrifice in poetry which may have something to tell scholars about both the theology and the sociology behind sacrifice;[22] or iconography on vase-paintings and votive stelai.[23] Currently, the most important new material is coming from

[15] Hubert and Mauss (1899); this theory was based on Vedic and Jewish sources and has never been popular with Hellenists, though the notion of substitution is not alien to Greek religion. Maurice Bloch's theory of sacrifice (1992:24–45) has a lot in common.

[16] W. Robertson Smith (1889); Detienne and Vernant (1979).

[17] Jay (1992); see Stowers (1995).

[18] Burkert (1983).

[19] Recent critique of grand theories of sacrifice: on modern theories, see Lincoln (2012); Graf (2012); Naiden (2013a:3–14, 276–316); Evans-Pritchard (1954).

[20] Recent work includes the monographs of Ekroth (2002) and Naiden (2013a); Baumgarten (2002); the edited volumes of Hägg and Alroth (2005); Georgoudi, Koch Piettre and Schmidt (2005); Stavrianopoulou, Michaels and Ambos (2008); Mehl and Brulé (2008); Knust and Várhelyi (2011); Pirenne-Delforge and Prescendi (2011); Faraone and Naiden (2012) and Porter and Schwartz (2012). Also useful is the volume *À quoi bon (se) sacrifier? Sacrifice, don et intérêt*, published in La revue du M.A.U.S.S. semestrielle No5, 1er semester 1995.

[21] Lupu (2005: introduction).

[22] Hitch (2007), Cingano (2004), Stocking (in press). For sacrifice narratives as a universe of literature, see Hogan (2003:186–200).

[23] For vase-painting, van Straten (1995); for votive stelai, see Klöckner in this volume (Chapter 8).

archaeology in the form of osteological evidence, which promises to revolutionalise our understanding of sacrificial victims and the way they were treated after death.[24]

This volume aims to foster the process of close analysis of the evidence and representation of animal sacrifice. We present twelve papers, which we group into four categories: **victims, procedure, representations and margins**.

Part I: Victims

In this section we present three papers relating to different aspects of victims.

Chapter One, Gunnel Ekroth's 'Bare Bones: Zooarchaeology and Greek Sacrifice', is a penetrating study of how bone deposits in sanctuaries shed light on the variety of animals sacrificed and methods of cooking. She looks particularly at the sanctuary of Poseidon at the Isthmos and the Kommos sanctuary on Crete, analysing three aspects of *thusia* sacrifice in particular: activity at the altar, debris from consumption and refuse from butchering. Among her suggestions are that, whereas the practice of burning the thigh-bones on the altar is an ancient practice that goes back to the Mycenaeans, the burning of the tail could be an innovation, perhaps introduced from the Near East. She also draws attention to bones from unexpected types of animals, such as dogs and horses, suggesting that these were consumed along with those of sacrificial animals, but not incorporated into the rituals.

Ekroth's investigation sets the stage for more specific studies in the following chapters, beginning with Chapter Two, Jennifer Larson's 'Venison for Artemis? The Problem of Deer Sacrifice'. In the first part of the chapter, Larson surveys the evidence for deer in ancient religion and society. Deer-bones are found in large numbers at Greek sanctuaries from the Mycenaean period onwards (more than other wild animals), and herds of deer may have been maintained in special parks. Nevertheless, as she shows, explicit evidence for the sacrifice of deer is meagre – two votive stelai, in fact; thus, it may seem attractive to attribute the osteological evidence not to sacrifice but to the consumption of animals which were hunted and killed in the wild or in parks. Even if that is right, she nonetheless asks whether it makes sense to draw an absolute distinction between animals killed at the sanctuary and ones killed elsewhere and subsequently brought to the sanctuary to be presented to the god and consumed. The further question thus arises whether the circumstances of killing are

[24] On osteology, see Ekroth and Wallensten (2013) and Ekroth in this volume (Chapter 1).

more important than the system of food production, the 'alimentary system' as a whole. This question applies not just to offerings of deer, but to all kinds of offerings. Several passages in Aristophanes confirm the practice of having mixed meats – some sacrificial and some not – at the same meal. In the second part of the chapter, Larson offers a new theory about how deer came to have the role they did in the ancient alimentary system, suggesting that what we see here is an echo of a system established by hunter-gatherers in the Mesolithic period. The invocation of hunter-gatherers reminds us of Walter Burkert's theory about the origins of sacrifice in *Homo Necans*, but whereas Burkert put the emphasis on violence, guilt and reparation, for Larson the point is ecological: a religious framework allows for the successful long-term management of the food supply. The tendency for hunters to give Artemis first fruits, rather than honour the goddess through *thusiai*, confirms Larson's view of Greek hunting ritual as distributive rather than destructive.[25]

In Chapter Three, 'Don't Kill the Goose that Lays the Golden Egg? Some Thoughts on Bird Sacrifices in Ancient Greece', Alexandra Villing discusses the much neglected topic of the role of birds in Greek sacrifice. She focuses on three cases: first, sacrifice of the cockerel and chicken, attested from about 400 BC, which seem to have occurred particularly in the cult of Asclepius and that of heroes; secondly, the dove and the partridge, which, though widely associated with Aphrodite, do not seem to have been sacrificed, though they were used in purification offerings; and, thirdly, the goose, which was widely sacrificed to Aphrodite and Isis in the Hellenistic period. This has sometimes been thought to be the result of Egyptian influence, but Villing sees evidence for an earlier practice of goose sacrifice in a fifth-century votive relief from Aegina which seems to depict a goose being led in procession for sacrifice to Hecate or Artemis. More broadly, she argues that the use of geese and chickens for sacrifice makes sense insofar as just like the other types of domestic animal commonly sacrificed, they are by the fifth century BC an integral part of the alimentary system of Greek society.

Part II: Procedure

Here we present three papers dealing with sacrificial procedure, and with the place of sacrifice within the realms of religious ritual and *polis* law.

[25] Accordingly Naiden (2013a:234–5) (citing the literary evidence) and Ekroth (2007) (citing the osteological evidence) have questioned the distinction between sacred and profane offerings.

Chapter Four, 'Reflections on Sacrifice and Purification in the Greek World' by Stella Georgoudi is a masterful and theoretically informed study of the relationship between animal sacrifice and purificatory rites designed to eliminate *miasma*. Focusing particularly on the issue of whether there is such a thing as a purificatory sacrifice, she admits that evidence for these ritual categories is so complex that a precise understanding of them will always elude us. However, she makes a persuasive case for the view that although purification and animal sacrifice may sometimes occur in close sequence in the same context, they are generally distinct; in fact, the animal sacrifice may signify that the purification has come to a satisfactory conclusion. Confusion arises partly because many rites of purification involve the killing of a young animal and/or the shedding of its blood (very young animals are preferred in these contexts, as she shows, because they are regarded as pure). These acts of cleansing differ from the acts of burning and offering characteristic of *thusia*, the most common general term for 'sacrifice'.

In Chapter Five, '"*Polis* Religion" and Sacrificial Regulation', Fred Naiden challenges the emphasis of earlier scholars on sacrifice as a mechanism of the democratic *polis*. Taking Sourvinou-Inwood's much discussed conceptualisation of Greek religious practice as dictated by the *polis* as his starting point, he lays out the evidence for a reciprocal arrangement between the subdivisions and the overarching *polis* structure in late Classical Athens. Rather than a hierarchy, he charts a nexus between smaller and bigger groups. He expands this discussion through consideration of the extant aetiologies of sacrifice, which credit individuals sacrificing on behalf of small groups with original sacrifices, rather than the *polis* or the gods themselves. His conclusions reveal an Athenian notion of sacrificial regulations that lies outside of the monopoly of the *polis*, and they confirm that Hesiod's aetiology of sacrifice was not universally accepted by the Greeks.

In Chapter Six, which concludes this section, 'Meaty Perks: Epichoric and Topological Trends', Mathieu Carbon studies the division of the animal's body after killing, particularly which parts were given to priests and which consecrated to the gods. (His chapter is the most systematic investigation of this subject since Friedrich Puttkammer's dissertation of 1912.) Carbon looks closely at a number of aspects: the priests' share, which, as he shows, is usually 'the extended rear leg' (since the thighbones were offered to the god, this links the priest with the divine sphere); the parts reserved for the gods, especially the so-called ἱερὰ μοῖρα ('sacred portion'); and the relative values given to the parts drawn from the left and right sides

of the animal. As Carbon demonstrates, the evidence from different parts of Greece shows striking homogeneity, but also a degree of local variation.

Part III: Representations

This section presents some overlooked examples of how Greeks represented sacrificial rituals in poetry and art. All three papers discuss artistic representations that would have themselves formed part of the religious landscape through either performance in festivals or dedication in sanctuaries: a hymn, votive reliefs and a tragic play.

In Chapter Seven, 'Sacrifice and the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 112–41', Oliver Thomas looks at the scene in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* where Hermes slaughters and roasts two cows and divides the meat into twelve shares. Thomas argues that this scene does not describe a proto-sacrifice (as other scholars have assumed), but, while evoking aspects of sacrifice, provides an aetion for local topography and for heraldic customs. The *Hymn* says that the cow-hides left by Hermes remain to this day (125–6), and Thomas argues that in other respects as well the function of the narrative is aetiological, explaining topographical features in the region of the River Alpheios, just as Hermes himself is a model for the sacred heralds who, unlike the god, carry out sacrifice. The *Hymn* can thus be understood as a sort of 'precursor' to a cult of the Twelve Gods at Olympia. In his conclusion, he decisively confirms Walter Burkert's hypothesis that Olympia was where the *Hymn* was first performed.

Anja Klöckner in Chapter Eight, 'Visualising Veneration: Images of Animal Sacrifice on Greek Votive Reliefs', looks at the portrayal of sacrificial animals on votive reliefs, a type of iconography which (unlike vases) always presupposes a ritual act, that of dedication by private individuals. The main subject of the reliefs is always the dedicants themselves (women as well as men), often depicted in the act of praying. However, about a quarter of them depict sacrificial animals, almost always in the context of a procession; others show the altar instead. As a source for ritual performance their value is thus limited; they tell us nothing about ritual itself, and although they provide some useful information about cultic reality, for example what animals were sacrificed on these occasions, that information is selective and approximate. A better approach, as Klöckner shows, is to start from the assumption that the reliefs were meant as a form of ritual communication between dedicants and gods. By looking at this body of evidence as a cultural form, and not as a social document, Klöckner reorients a field of

scholarship still dominated by Folkert Van Straten's *Hiera Kala*, which regarded votive reliefs as illustrative of ritual practice.

Richard Seaford's starting point in Chapter Nine, 'Sacrifice in Drama: The Flow of Liquids', is the spectacular pre-battle sacrifice described in the proem of Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes* where the seven warriors touch the blood of a sacrificed bull poured into a shield. Seaford analyses this as combining features of an ordinary pre-battle sacrifice and an oath sacrifice, in which the participants symbolically partake in the blood of an animal. For Seaford, the emotional impact of the communal participation in blood in Aeschylus' narrative should be understood as consolidatory, along the lines of the sprinkling of *khernips*-water in ordinary sacrifice; conversely, the shedding of tears immediately afterwards by the seven warriors as they anticipate their fate seems to echo the pouring of libations of wine in the closing stages of an ordinary sacrifice. First, blood replaces water, and then water replaces wine. The paper closes with a provocative analysis of the oath sacrifice in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, clearly modelled on the *Seven*, which, as Seaford shows, contains clear sexual imagery.

Part IV: Margins

Nearly all work on Greek sacrifice has dealt with Greece alone, overlooking the intercultural connections presented in this section.

In Chapter Ten, 'Animal Sacrifice in Hittite Anatolia', Alice Mouton gives a systematic overview of animal sacrifice in the different regions of the Hittite Empire (late second millennium BC), dealing with the three main issues of what animals are sacrificed, how they are divided and in what contexts sacrifice takes place. In a final section she discusses the meaning of animal sacrifice in the Hittite world, suggesting that the most important idea is that of a regular gift to the gods, through which they become linked or indebted to humans. It has long been suspected that Hittite religion is related to early Greek religion, and one similarity has long been known between Hittite and Greek sacrificial practice, namely that the Hittite word for make an offering, *spant-*, is manifestly related to the Greek *spendein* ('pour a libation'). Significantly, Mouton uncovers one other significant parallel, namely that the vital organs (the heart and liver) are roasted and the rest of the animal stewed. There are also, of course, many differences between the two systems, for example the fact that in Hittite religion victims are frequently identified as substitutes.

In Chapter Eleven, 'The Reception of Egyptian Animal Sacrifice in Greek Writers: Ethnic Stereotyping or Transcultural Discourse?', Ian

Rutherford looks at accounts of Egyptian animal sacrifice by Greek writers from the fifth century BC till the Roman era. He considers first the idea attested in Plutarch and Diodorus (apparently going back to Manetho) that the victim represents the god Seth; secondly he looks at Herodotus' detailed accounts of the Egyptian way of sacrificing bulls and pigs; and thirdly at the idea found from the fourth century BC, and apparently inconsistent with the other two, that Egyptians, far from sacrificing animals, did not eat meat at all. Rutherford shows that there are different ways of looking at these accounts: on the one hand, they may well reflect the cultural bias of the Greek writers, who emphasise the strange and extraordinary in foreign religion; on the other hand, most of what they say seems to correspond at least roughly to Egyptian sacrificial practice or to Egyptian discourse about animal sacrifice.

The final chapter moves from the edges of the Greco-Roman world to the end of Greco-Roman paganism. In 'A Quiet Slaughter? Julian and the Etiquette of Public Sacrifice', Sergio Knipe looks at the religious policy of Julian the Apostate, whose edict of AD 362 temporarily moved the Empire away from Christianity and back to paganism. Julian placed great importance on sacrifice, as is shown by his personal attitude as well as by his official policy, and his ancient biographers stressed this aspect of his rule. However, he expresses a less enthusiastic attitude in a letter he wrote in AD 363. Here he seems to criticise a sacrifice he had observed at Batnae in Syria because it was not 'away from the beaten path and performed in peace and quiet'. Knipe interprets Julian's concern for the traditional standard of *euphemia* ('ritual silence') as being influenced by the theurgy of the Neoplatonist Iamblichus, for whom animal sacrifice enabled communication with the gods and also purification of the soul. More generally, Knipe suggests that this emphasis on sacrifice being performed in the correct way should be seen in the context of Julian's official religious policy directed in the first instance towards priests in different parts of the Empire: thus, under Julian, animal sacrifice regains its place in Roman state religion, but it has a new form, shaped by the theurgy that he so admired.

If we take the twelve chapters together, a number of common themes emerge.

One is the definition of sacrifice itself. What is it? How do we distinguish it from other ritual actions? Are such distinctions always valid or useful? These problems arise in the case of the deer offerings discussed by Larson, where the killing probably happened during the hunt and not at the altar. They also arise for the ritual discussed by Seaford, which involves the blood of a bull, but not the meat itself. Some of the papers show how

recent scholarship has tended to be imprecise in its use of the term *sacrifice*, allowing it to be applied to phenomena that are connected to it, but differ from it. One example is the purificatory rites accompanied by sacrifice studied by Georgoudi in her chapter. Thomas's chapter reveals the uncertainty felt by scholars about whether Hermes' acts of killing the cattle, and roasting and dividing the meat, should be seen as a sacrifice or something else.

Another issue thrown up by several of the chapters is the problem of reconciling different types of evidence. For example, the new osteological data sometimes point in different directions to the epigraphical and other sources (see Ekroth, Carbon): the latter usually dictate part of an official script, whereas faunal remains reveal the chaos of actual practice. Similarly, accounts of sacrifice in Greek poetry, which classicists have traditionally tended to privilege as sources,[26] sometimes turn out to have only a tangential relationship to actual practice (see Thomas, Seaford); thus, prose and poetry tend to suggest that acts of sacrifice may go awry, whereas epigraphical and visual sources present normative sacrifice. The relationship between iconography and other types of sources raises the same issues (Klöckner).

Thirdly, several of the papers address in different ways the issue of the authority for ritual practice. Who mandates that sacrifice be performed in a certain way? In traditional societies we might ascribe authority to an anonymous oral tradition of ritual of uncertain age. Thus, Thomas's analysis of the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* traces a sacrificial practice in honour of the Twelve Gods at Olympia back to an aetion, to which the Hymn itself gives voice. In Classical Greece the authority is these days most often thought to be the *polis*, which used the medium of sacred regulations (cf. Carbon in this volume (Chapter 6)) to enforce its will; against that, Naiden argues that frequently an independent group organises sacrifice within the *polis* and may ascribe the authority for it to an external source. Finally, an entirely different model appears in Knipe who shows that when Julian revives sacrificial practice in the fourth century AD, the authority is partly his own as emperor, but also that of Neoplatonic philosophy.

A fourth theme is the importance of studying sacrifice cross-culturally: the papers make it clear that understanding Greek sacrifice means

[26] Cf. Burkert (1983:3): 'Thanks to descriptions in Homer and tragedy, we can reconstruct the course of an ordinary Greek sacrifice to the Olympian gods almost in its entirety.' See also Graf (2004:340), Parker (1996b:1344), Pollard (2010, vol. VI:196–8), Hermary et al. (2004:67), Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel (1992:31).

understanding sacrifice beyond the borders of the Greek world, particularly as regards the neighbouring Mediterranean cultures of Asia Minor, the ancient Near East including Israel and Egypt. This may be because Greek sacrificial practice may actually have been influenced by foreign cultures (cf. Villing on Near East sacrifice, Mouton on Hittite sacrifice); or it may be because understanding other cultures gives us insights into early Greek practice (cf. Larson on the use of deer in Assyria); alternatively, Greek accounts of animal sacrifice in other parts of the Mediterranean reveal general concepts about supposedly universal and local aspects of sacrifice (Rutherford). As more work is done on the religions of the cultures of the ancient Near East, we can expect rapid progress in this area.[27]

Are there any other hints in the chapter about where the study of ancient sacrifice may go in the future? One suggestion is given by Larson, who argues in her piece that animal sacrifice in any particular culture cannot be understood without also understanding how food production was managed; and since configurations of ritual may tend to be conservative, it may be necessary to understand what forms the alimentary, economic and ecological system might have taken in the remote past. A systematic investigation of the relationship between food production and society is surely a desideratum, and by the same token, so is investigation into the symbiotic relation between sacrifice and ancient economic development as a whole, as opposed to past interest in sacrifice and the Classical democratic *polis*. There is perhaps also scope for applying recent advances made by scholars articulating evolutionary approaches to religion and cognitive science. For example, the theory of 'costly signalling', which explains spectacular religious actions as conspicuous social displays, could elucidate many of the forms of sacrifice discussed in this volume, and also many representations of sacrifice, such as the votive stelai discussed by Klöckner.[28]

The study of Greek sacrifice, which began in the Victorian era, and reached a peak of theoretical development about forty years ago, has an expanding but unpredictable future before it, in which the Greek will consort with the non-Greek, and sacrifice, no longer regarded as monolith, will become a crossroads of religious and cultural forms.

[27] See Burkert (1990); Rutherford in this volume (Chapter 11); see also Naiden (2006b).
[28] For costly signalling and sacrifice, see, for example, Henrich (2009); Palmer, Steadman and Cassidy (2006).

PART I

Victims

CHAPTER 1

*Bare Bones: Zooarchaeology and Greek Sacrifice**

Gunnel Ekroth

The myth of how Prometheus tricks Zeus at Mekone, told by Hesiod in the *Theogony*, centres around the division of an ox into two parts, on the one hand, bones and fat, and on the other, meat, hide and stomach.[1] At this event, usually considered to have led up to the institution of animal sacrifice, Prometheus hides the bare bones of the slaughtered ox in the glistening, obviously appetizing fat, and it is the sight of these bones instead of the meat which causes Zeus' anger. He banishes men from the tables of the gods and orders them all to in the future burn the white bones on the altars, as a recollection of this incident. The handling of the bones thus marks the separation of gods and men. But also in real, practised cult, bones formed the core of the ritual. At a regular Greek, animal sacrifice, a *thysia*, the communication with the gods was enabled by the burning of bones on the altar. Not any part of the skeleton would be chosen and the preferred sections to put in the fire were the *meria* or *meroi*, that is the thighbones (femora), and the *osphys*, which is made up of the sacrum bone (the back part of the basin) and the tail (caudal) vertebrae (Fig. 1.1).[2] The *knise*, the smoke from the bones consumed by the altar fire, rose to the sky and allowed for the gods to profit from the sacrifice.

Cutting out bones, freeing them from meat, wrapping them in fat and burning them were essential parts of any Greek sacrifice. But the handling of the bones does not only constitute evidence for the interaction between immortals and mortals, it also provides us with information on the actions of the people present at the sanctuaries, on their choices, habits and behaviour, what they ate, how they prepared their food and what their tastes were. Greek religion has been thoroughly explored for more than

* I am grateful to Sarah Hitch and Ian Rutherford for inviting me to the seminar on sacrifices at the University of Reading in May 2007, where a first version of this paper was presented.

[1] Hes. *Theog.* 535–7. For the interpretation, see Vernant (1989); Rudhardt (1970); Pötscher (1995).

[2] Van Straten (1995:128–30); Ekroth (2009:127–9). On the issue of *meroi* as bare bones or entire legs, see Berthiaume (2005).

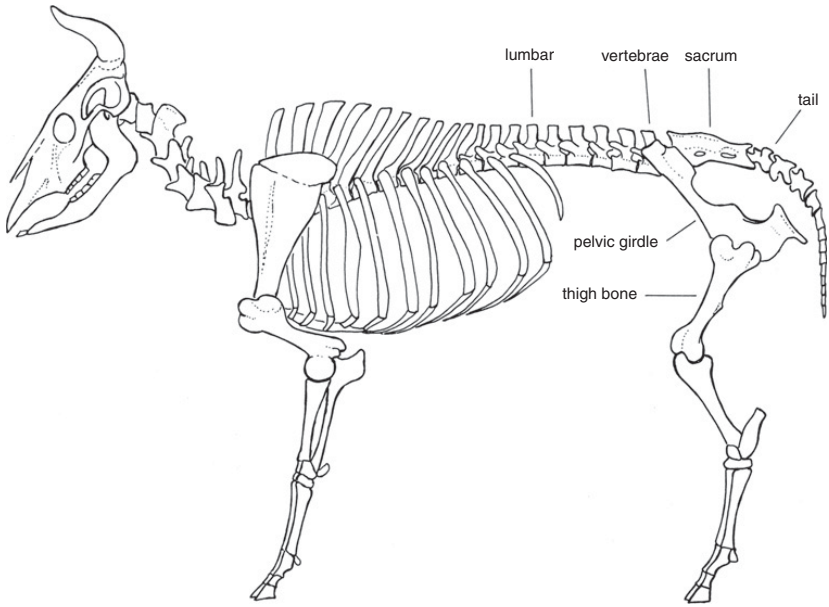


Fig. 1.1. Bovine skeleton. After F. T. van Straten, "The god's portion in Greek sacrificial representations: Is the tail doing nicely?", in *Early Greek Cult Practice. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 26–29 June, 1986* (ActaAth-4°, 38), ed. R. Hägg, N. Marinatos and G. C. Nordquist, Stockholm 1988, 59, fig. 13.

a century, and starting from philology, then epigraphy, scholarship has gradually ventured into iconography and archaeology. Still, there are many aspects of the practical execution of a sacrifice that are unclear, partly since the sources do not offer us sufficient information, partly since they apparently had no need or desire to do so. It must be kept in mind that the texts, inscriptions, vases and reliefs constitute choices of how to represent Greek sacrifices, and that they do not necessarily capture or reflect all aspects of the complex ritual reality. Archaeology, and especially zooarchaeology, can here offer us a different perspective, which allows us to clarify the information in the written and iconographical sources or even to contradict it.

The focus of this chapter is the zooarchaeological evidence as a source for Greek sacrificial ritual. There are many reasons why the bones should be of interest for scholars of Greek religion. Firstly, the zooarchaeological material is definitely a kind of evidence linked to Greek cult that is constantly increasing. It is not likely that a new *lex sacra*, such as the one from

Selinous, or a vase-painting, as the "Ricci-hydria" with its explicit sacrificial scene, will surface in the next few years, though of course it is theoretically possible.[3] Some kind of zooarchaeological remains can, on the other hand, be expected from the next excavation of a Greek cult place, if investigated with the proper methodology. Secondly, animal bones provide us with direct evidence from the cultic activity at a specific site which may allow us to distinguish local variations and particularities, but also changes over time. Thirdly, zooarchaeology may reveal facets of Greek cult practice, which we rarely or never will find in our written and iconographical sources.

The zooarchaeological evidence gives rise to a number of questions and this chapter will focus on three aspects of the bone material pertaining to Greek cult: (1) which kind of ritual activities the animal bones may correspond to, (2) the correlation between the zooarchaeological material and the written sources concerning the god's portion at a *thysia* and *theoxenia*, and (3) the relation between sacrificial victims and the consumption of meat.

Historiography and Methodology

Animal bones have always been found at archaeological investigations of sanctuaries and cult places, but they have unfortunately often not been kept and studied, since they were not considered to contribute any significant information, though as a rare early exception it may be noted that Paul Stengel, the father of the study of Greek sacrificial ritual, actually commented on the bone material found at an Aphrodite sanctuary at Bassai in a paper written already in 1887.[4] Still, until recently, few studies have attempted to discuss Greek sacrificial ritual and zooarchaeological evidence in a more comprehensive manner, but this situation is rapidly changing.[5]

As with any kind of evidence, bones have to be assembled in the correct manner to be useful for scholars, and in order to constitute a source for cult

[3] Selinous *lex sacra*: Jameson, Jordan and Kotansky (1993); "Ricci–hydria," see van Straten (1995:V154, fig. 122).

[4] Stengel (1910:200), bones said to come from small animals such as hares.

[5] For an overview on the importance of the zooarchaeological material for the understanding of Greek ritual practices, see the contributions in Ekroth and Wallensten (2013); see also Hägg (1998a); Kotjabopoulou et al. (2003); for surveys of zooarchaeological evidence from Greek sanctuaries, see Leguilloux (2004); Reese (2005); MacKinnon (2007a:490–1); MacKinnon (2007b:17–19). For discussion of similar issues within the Roman evidence, see Lepetz and Van Andringa (2008a); Lepetz and Van Andringa (2008b).

practice they have to be collected with the proper methods. At an excavation bones may be picked up by hand, but this method results in far from all parts of the animals being recovered. More importantly, certain species will definitely not be recovered, as their bones are too small to be spotted with the naked eye. It is therefore essential to sieve systematically, as well as to use water flotation, of at least a representative sample of the soil.

Recent archaeological work demonstrates the benefits of such a proper methodology, for example the way the zooarchaeological evidence informs our understanding of the role of fish within both cultic and alimentary contexts. It has often been claimed that the Greeks had a complex relation to fish, which was seen either as the ultimate luxury food, expensive and exclusive, or as food for the poor who could not afford meat.[6] The role of fish within religion is far from established, and fish have usually been separated from the sphere of animal sacrifice, as they are rarely documented in our written and iconographical sources, and cannot be brought to the altar alive, nor do they bleed once killed, apart from tuna.[7] The lack of fishbones in sanctuaries has been taken as a confirmation of the marginal position of fish within cult.[8]

An astonishing zooarchaeological deposit has recently been brought to light at the excavations at the sanctuary of Poseidon at Kalaureia on Poros, conducted by the Swedish Institute at Athens, where intensive sieving and water flotation have been consistently used. At the site was discovered a large deposit of pottery, bones and charcoal, which represents material dumped after a huge feast involving *c.* 200 people, which took place around 165 BC.[9] Among the bones recovered were those of cattle, sheep, goat and pigs, but also the remains of at least eighteen different species of fish. These fish originated from various kinds of marine habitat and were apparently caught by different kinds of fishing technique, some by large communal efforts using nets, others by individual fishermen with hook and line or a harpoon. Some of the fish may perhaps even have been bred in the shallow lagoons near Poros, while certain species were migratory and seasonal, and could only be caught at selected times during the year. All fish species that existed locally around the island are present in the

[6] See the discussion by Davidson (1997:3–35); Mylona (2008): *passim*, esp. 5–23.

[7] For occasional mention of the burning of small fish as part of sacrifice, see *LSCG* 177, lines 62–3, foundation of Diomedon, Kos, *c.* 300 BC; *LSCG* 135, line 83, testament of Epikteta, Thera, 210–195 BC; sacrifice of *tarichos*, smoked or salted fish, to the hero Kylabras at Phaselis, see Heropythos *FGrHist* 448 F 1, Ath. 7.297e–298a. For representations of fish, see Gebauer (2002:322–3, Zv 31– Zv 36, fig. 192–7; Vikela (1994:26) and pl. 15:1, no. A 17. On the bleeding tuna, see Durand (1989b:127–8).

[8] For a review of marine fauna in Greek sanctuaries, see Theodoropoulou (2013).

[9] Mylona (2008:92–6); Wells et al. (2005:164–79).

assemblage by all parts of the skeletons, that is, the fish must have been brought whole to the sanctuary to be consumed. The migratory fish, on the other hand, are only represented by vertebrae, and must presumably have been taken to the site in chunks or slices. These non-local fish may even have been preserved for some time before being consumed, for example by salting. The conclusion is that the fish from the dinner deposit at the Kalaureia sanctuary cannot represent a single catch at one locality, but is rather the labour of different fishermen at different spots around the island and the mainland coast. Some of the fish were small, around 15 cm, while others, such as the tuna, were over 1 m long. This great meal, with its extraordinary selection of fish, can certainly be seen as a worthy tribute to the god of the sea and his affluence.

The material from Kalaureia demonstrates how careful excavation, dry sieving and water flotation can reveal new facets of the use and role of fish in Greek sanctuaries, be it for rituals, burnt on the altars for the gods or deposited, or eaten by the worshippers.[10] It must be kept in mind that if a site has not been excavated with such attention, the zooarchaeological assemblage cannot be used to argue for the lack of fish, nor of any other species, as part of the local ritual or diet.[11]

What Kind of (Ritual) Activity Do the Animal Bones Represent?

Judging by our written and iconographical sources, the most common kind of animal sacrifice practiced by the Greeks was *thysia*. At this ritual, the animal victim was divided between gods and men; the deities received the thighbones and the tail section burnt on the altar, while the meat was consumed by the worshippers. In connection with *thysia*, the gods could be given offerings of raw meat on the sacred table, *trapezomata*, or various kinds of cooked food at *theoxenia* rituals.[12] Apart from these rituals, the

[10] The fishbones and seashells from the Greek sanctuary at Kommos also indicate the role of marine fauna in religious contexts, both as offerings and food, see *Kommos* I and Reese (2000a and 2000b); Lefèvre-Novaro (2010); cf. Mylona (2008:97–9), Ekroth (2011).

[11] Apart from the need for sophisticated techniques of collecting the bones, publication by experts is also a prerequisite. The first study of the zooarchaeological material from the so-called altar of Aphrodite Ourania at Athens demonstrated a high percentage of young, female goats and bird bones, especially doves (Forster 1984), supporting the identification of the altar as that of this goddess. A later re-study by David Reese (1989) recognized only four unburnt bird bones within the sample, as well as a majority of burnt sheep and goat femora and caudal vertebrae, a typical altar deposit not suggesting any particular divinity. For a recent identification of the altar as that of Hermes Agoraios, see Osanna (1988–9).

[12] On *trapezomata* and *theoxenia*, see Gill (1974); Gill (1991); Jameson (1994a); Veyne (2000); Ekroth (2002:276–86).

Greeks performed holocausts at which the entire animal was burnt in the fire, as well as sacrifices in war on the battlefield, so-called *sphagia*, at purifications and at oath-takings.[13] At these latter sacrifices, there was no meat for the participants to consume. How does the zooarchaeological material relate to this ritual landscape?

Animal bones from sanctuaries are often simply regarded as remains of "sacrifices," the term being used as a kind of comprehensive explanation, covering both the dedication of a part of the animal victim to the god and the consumption of the rest by the worshippers. In order to understand which actions the bones may correspond to, finer distinctions within the zooarchaeological evidence have to be made, using criteria such as the types of bones, the degree of fragmentation, the presence of cut or chopping marks, and most importantly, whether the bones show any traces of burning. The interpretive categories applied must also be taken into consideration. To be able to do so, the bone assemblages must have been both carefully excavated and collected, and most of all analyzed and published in great detail.

Most zooarchaeological assemblages in Greek sanctuaries can be connected to *thysia* sacrifice, and three different kinds of actions can be recognized. It is possible to distinguish between bone material deriving from the *activity at the altar* – the burning of the gods' portion, *consumption debris* – the bones being left after the worshippers had eaten the meat, and *butchering refuse* – parts which were discarded at the initial division of the animal after it had been killed.

Bones from the *altar activity* have been burnt in the fire on the altar and are carbonized and even calcined, a process which often results in substantial fragmentation into small pieces. High temperatures are needed here; by 400–600° the bones will be charred, while temperatures over 600–700° cause calcination.[14] Judging by the written and iconographical sources, these deposits can be expected to consist mainly of thighbones and parts of the *osphys*. The find context also has to be taken into consideration, but remains of the bones burnt on the altar do not necessarily have to be recovered near an altar to be recognized as the god's part of the sacrifice.[15]

[13] On holocausts, see Ekroth (2002:217–42). For *sphagia*, see Jameson (1991); Jameson (1994b). Purifications, see Parker (1983:225–32 and 371–4); Dyer (1969); Clinton (2005); Burkert (1985: 75–84); Georgoudi, this volume (Chapter 4). Oath–takings, see Faraone (1993); Burkert (1985: 250–4).

[14] Prummel (2003:212–13); Shipman, Forster and Schoeninger (1984); Spennemann and Colley (1989).

[15] At Ephesos, sacrificial debris has been distinguished from consumption refuse and garbage in both Protogeometric levels and a well filled in the Classical period by the selection of body parts and the

The *consumption debris*, on the other hand, typically contains a very low quantity of burnt bones, as cooking does not exceed 280° and the roasting of the meat only chars the outer ends of the bones as the meat protects the rest. Most meat eaten in sanctuaries seems to have been boiled, a cooking method which leaves no traces of fire. The zooarchaeological remains deriving from meals are fragmented as well, since the bones were usually butchered into portions before cooking, and later broken to gain access to the marrow, though to a lesser extent than the altar remains. Cut or chopping marks are frequently present.[16] Furthermore, the consumption debris should consist of the meat-bearing parts of the animal, apart from the sections reserved for the altar. The *butchering refuse*, finally, is made up of the lower legs and feet, and the upper part of the skull, sections of the animal with little or no meat on them, which were often removed when the animal was skinned.[17]

There is less zooarchaeological evidence that can be linked to other kinds of ritual than *thysia*. Holocausts may be recognized in heavily burnt bone deposits containing all parts of the skeleton, but such instances are very rare. One of the few undisputed cases belongs to the Roman phase of the cult of Palaimon at Isthmia, dating to *c.* AD 50–150.[18] At this hero-cult, cattle were burnt in a series of pits, the walls of which were severely damaged by the heat. Presumably the animals were placed on logs over the pits and the draft of the air created sufficient heat to consume the meat. The bones do not reveal if the animals were burnt as whole carcasses or if they first had been skinned, gutted and cut up into pieces, though both flaying and division seems very likely, considering the amount of time needed to burn an entire cow with blood and intestines still contained within the carcass.[19] Apart from this spectacular holocaust, there are some deposits of piglets, which have been burnt whole, most coming from Demeter sanctuaries and probably corresponding to a specific ritual of this cult.[20] These bones are probably to be distinguished from the deposition of

calcined state of the bones, see *Ephesos* V, 86–9; Forstenpointner, Galik and Weissengruber (2006); Scherrer et al. (2006:145–6).

[16] For the identification of butchering and marrow extraction, see Rixson (1989:49–62); *Tenos*, 438–43; *Thasos*, 807–13; *Thera*, 158–61; *Samos*, 6.

[17] For butchering refuse, or rather the lack of these parts in the deposits from sanctuaries, see *Thasos*, 807; *Tegea*, 201; *Samos*, 4, Table 2; *Nemea*, 139; Leguilloux (2000:346), on the fourth-century BC altar of Zeus/Jovis at Poseidonia where less than 1 percent of the around fifty slaughtered cattle consisted of feet and lower legs.

[18] *Isthmia*, 126, 132–3, 137–9 and 152. For the cult in its Roman phase, see also Gebhard (1993); Ekroth (2002:80–1).

[19] On the evidence for skinning carcasses before holocausts, see Scullion (2009:159–69).

[20] *Mytilene* I, 209; *Mytilene* II, 188–9; Bookidis and Stroud (1997:78), Area D; cf. *Ephesos* V, 85–6.

piglets in connection with the Thesmophoria, however, as the piglets on these latter occasions were to be thrown whole into pits, and their rotten remains later taken up and spread on the fields.[21]

A unique zooarchaeological assemblage was recently excavated on Thasos, near the *Passage des théores* at the Agora.[22] A young bull, a ram and a boar had been cut into half and deposited in two heaps with three half-sections of each animal in each heap, the bodies being carefully arranged with the severed sections facing the open area between the piles. This find probably represents a *trittoia*, the sacrifice of three victims, which was performed in connection with an oath or purification.[23] Another particular category of bone deposits are accumulations of horns, mainly goat but also sheep, that have been discovered at the Artemision at Ephesos, at Dreros on Crete, in the temple of Apollo at Halieis and at Messene.[24] As the quantities at some sites are quite substantial, they may be interpreted as the remains of the altars of horns, *bomoi keratinoi*, known from the literary sources. Plutarch specifically points out that the horns making up the *Keraton* on Delos stuck together by themselves, without any kind of glue or additional binder, and according to Kallimachos, Apollo had pleated (*epleke*) the altar of horns, statements that have caused some bewilderment among modern scholars.[25] Based on the finding of pairs of goat horns at Ephesos, archaeological experiments have demonstrated that the construction of a horn altar by simply joining together the horn pairs from goats is perfectly feasible.[26]

Finally, the zooarchaeological material gives evidence for rituals that do not correspond to any actions outlined in texts, inscriptions or images. In Athens, near the Agora, a series of shallow pits filled with pottery, traces of burning and some animal bones from sheep, goat or chicken have been

[21] On the handling of piglets at the Thesmophoria, see Clinton (1988). For unburnt piglet bones in Demeter sanctuaries, see *Ephesos* II, esp. 68.

[22] See Blondé et al. (2001); Blondé et al. (2005). A DVD produced by the *CNRS Images* entitled *Le trittoia ou le rendez–vous de Thasos* (2007) documents in detail the excavation and the interpretation of the find.

[23] On the division or cutting apart of oath or purification victims, see Parker (1983:22–3); Faraone (1993:65–72). See also the material from well G5:3 in the Athenian Agora, which yielded the remains of 150 dogs and 450 infants, suggested to have been linked to purification rites, see Snyder (1999:284); Little (1999:284).

[24] Dreros: Marinatos (1936:241–4); Deonna (1940); *Ephesos* I:108, 112–13 and 132–8; *Ephesos* IV:228; Halieis: Jameson (1988a:93); *Messene* I:301.

[25] Plut. *De soll. an*. 983e; Call. *Hymn* 2, 60–4; cf. Deonna (1940:112–14); Bruneau (1970:19–29); Bruneau and Fraisse (2002). For the display of horns and bukrania as commemoration of sacrifice, see Theophr. *Char*. 21.7; Gebauer (2002:537–40); van Straten (1995:R57, fig. 78), stele from the fourth–third centuries BC with bukranion and boar's skull and mandible.

[26] Forstenpointner (2000:51–65, esp. fig. 15).

found in houses and commercial buildings.[27] These deposits, usually labelled "Pyre deposits," are of Classical and early Hellenistic date and presumably represent some kind of ritual meals, as the pottery shapes include drinking vessels and cooking pots, but the purpose of the action and the recipient remain unclear. As a last example should be mentioned the enormous funerary sacrifice excavated at the foot of the staircase at the entrance to the tomb chamber of the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos, dated to around 350 BC.[28] The deposit contained at least five cattle, twenty-five sheep and goats, eight lambs and kids, three cocks, ten hens, one chick and eight pigeons, as well as twenty-six hen's eggs. The animals had been slaughtered, skinned and gutted, and then laid down either complete or in segments, with the meat still attached to the bones. No heads or lower sections of the legs were recovered, and these parts must have been discarded before being deposited, as they have very little meat on them. There were no traces of fire or other signs of cooking, but the bones seem to suggest a huge meal offering to the departed ruler of a kind that has no parallels in our archaeological or textual record so far.

The God's Portion at a *Thysia*

At a *thysia* sacrifice, the central act was the burning of thighbones and tails in order to create the savoury smoke, *knise*, the gods were so fond of. However, the written and iconographical sources do not present us with a uniform picture of what the god's portion consisted of. Hesiod, in his account of Prometheus' division of the ox at Mekone simply states that the white bones, the *ostea leuka*, were burnt for the gods on the altars.[29] Homer speaks only of the thighbones wrapped in fat and so do Sophocles, Herodotus, Pausanias and Lucian.[30] The earliest written reference to the *osphys* as a part of the divinity's share of the victim is found in the tragedy *Prometheus Bound* (ll. 496–9). Both *meroi* and *osphys* are mentioned in Aristophanes, while Menander refers only to the *osphys*.[31]

The Attic vase-paintings frequently depict the *osphys* in the altar fire, showing the tail rising in a characteristic curve (Fig. 1.2).[32] These images

[27] Camp (1999:278–80); Camp (2003:247–9); Jordan and Rotroff (1999); Rotroff (2013).
[28] Jeppesen, Højlund and Aaris–Sørensen (1981); Højlund (1983).
[29] *Theog.* 532–7. In *OD* 336–7, Hesiod mentions the burning of *meria*; cf. Thgn. *Eleg.* 1.1145–6.
[30] Hom. *Il.* 1.460–3, 2.422–5; *Od.* 3.456–9; Soph. *Ant.* 1005–11; Hdt. 4.35; Paus. 1.24.2, 5.13.9 and 8.38.8; Luc. *Prom.* 19; *Timon* 9; *De sacrif.* 3.
[31] Ar. *Pax* 1039–40 and 1053–5; Men. *Dys.* 447–53.
[32] The earliest representations date to the last quarter of the fifth century BC, see van Straten (1988: 57–67); van Straten (1995:118–21); Gebauer (2002:352–443). For votive reliefs occasionally



Fig. 1.2. The burning of the *osphys* in the fire on the altar. Red-figure kylix, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1911.617. Photo Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.

match the behaviour of the tail referred to in Aristophanes' comedy *The Peace*, where Trygaios urges his slave not to disturb the *osphys* in the fire and then comments "The tail is doing nicely." Practical experiments have demonstrated that real cattle, sheep and pigs' tails rise and curve precisely in this manner when placed in a fire, and the representations on vases apparently closely correspond to what happened in real life when an *osphys* was burnt (Fig. 1.3).[33] More iconographically elusive is the burning of the thighbones, so frequently referred to in the literary sources. *Meroi* may possibly be seen on a red-figure Athenian bell-krater in the Louvre (Fig. 1.4), depicting a sacrificial scene, where a bearded man is about to place a bundle in the fire, ingeniously suggested by the Austrian zooarchaeologist Gerhard Forstenpointner to be the fat-wrapped thighbones about to be burnt (Fig. 1.5).[34]

Considering the discrepancy between texts and images, the zooarchaeological evidence is of prime interest for clarifying the contents of the god's portion. At present, there are at least ten bone assemblages, which can be

representing this part of the victim, see Rhamnous, inv. no. 102, Ekroth (2009:133–4, fig. 6), and a terracotta plaque from Locri, Prückner (1968:17–18, fig. 1).

[33] Jameson (1986:60–1 and fig. 3); Ekroth (2009:143, fig. 7); Morton (2015).

[34] Paris, Louvre G 496; van Straten (1995:V200, fig. 152); Gebauer (2002:406–7, B 43, fig. 268). For the experiments of wrapping the femora in the omentum, the fat of the animal's stomach, see *Ephesos* III, 210–11; see also Morton (2015).



Fig. 1.3. Sheep tail (to the left) and pig tail (to the right) burning on a coal fire. Photo Gunnel Ekroth.



Fig. 1.4. Attic red-figure bell-krater, Paris, Louvre G 496. Amorphous bundle being placed in the altar fire. Photo © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Les frères Chuzeville.

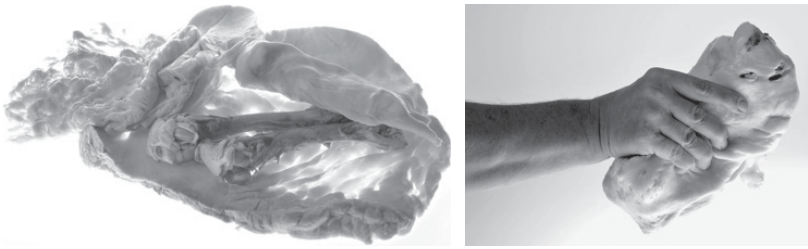


Fig. 1.5 a–b. Sheep's thighbones and omentum (5a) and experimentally formed bundle using these specimens (5b). Photo G. E. Weissengruber.

interpreted as the remains burnt on the altar, dating from the Late Geometric to the late Hellenistic periods: the altar of Aphrodite Ourania at Athens, the *Aire sacrificielle* at Eretria, the Artemision at Ephesos, the Long Altar at Isthmia, the altars in the Greek sanctuary at Kommos on Crete, the sanctuary of Apollon Hylates at Kourion on Cyprus, the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Miletos, the sanctuary of Demeter on Mytilene, the altar of Zeus and the Heroon at Nemea, the sanctuary of Plakari at Karystus and the temple at Agios Elias near Tegea.[35] At most of these locations the zooarchaeological material has been recovered in or at an altar, and the deposits consist predominantly of a selection of heavily burnt bones, often calcined and fragmented into small pieces.

In general, there seem to be more thighbones and kneecaps than sacrum bones and tail vertebrae in the altar debris. This may partly depend on the thighbones and kneecaps resisting the heat better and therefore having a greater chance of being identified in the samples, but at some sanctuaries the quantity of thighbones indisputably surpasses that of the sacra and vertebrae. At the *Aire sacrificielle* at Eretria, 87 percent of the burnt altar debris consisted of thighbones and an additional 6 percent were kneecaps.[36] Apart from a few humerus fragments, there are only thighbones in the burnt material at the Hofaltar area in the Artemision at Ephesos and a clear dominance of femora among the burnt bones from Altars U and C at the Greek sanctuary at Kommos, the Archaic precinct and altar in the sanctuary of Apollon Hylates at Kourion and the altar of Poseidon at Isthmia.[37] The thighbones recovered in these deposits come

[35] See the Appendix. [36] *Eretria*, 175 and 177, Table 2.

[37] *Ephesos* I, 115, 145 and 149; *Kommos* I, Table 6.2, 441, 446–9 and 474; cf. *Kommos* II, 678 and 683–4, pl. 6.3 and 6.4; *Kourion*, 181–2; *Isthmia*, 144 and 149–52, Table 1. The burnt bones from Thermon also mainly consist of long bones, see Gardeisen (2008:308).

mainly from sheep and goats, though at Isthmia a greater quantity of cattle than of ovicaprines was sacrificed at the altar.

Remains of tail vertebrae and sacra are as a rule less frequent, but at the sanctuary of Demeter at Mytilene and the altar of Aphrodite Ourania at Athens, tails of sheep and goat were common.[38] There is also a distinction as to species. At Ephesos, in one of the early Archaic burnt deposits, the tail bones are mainly from cattle while the thighbones and kneecaps derive from sheep and goats, and a similar situation is found at Altar U in the Greek sanctuary at Kommos, which dates to *c.* 700–600 BC.[39] A few remains of sacrum bones and tail vertebrae at the *Aire sacrificielle* at Eretria show that the occasional sheep's tail may have ended up on this altar as well, though here this was never the regular practice.[40]

The total number of altar assemblages is small, but the scarcity of pig bones should be noted. At Isthmia, Kourion, Kommos, Miletos, Eretria and the Hofaltar at Ephesos, there seem to be no pig bones at all among the burnt sacrificial remains.[41] In the cases where pig bones are present, only a small quantity has been recorded, rarely consisting of thighbones and hardly ever of pigs' tail vertebrae.[42] Larger amounts of burnt pig bones, primarily juvenile piglets, only seem to have been recovered in sanctuaries of Demeter, deposits which may be interpreted as a ritual different from the burning of the god's portion at a *thysia*, as all parts of the animals' bodies seem to have been included.[43] The zooarchaeological evidence thus suggests that the gods' portion usually consisted of the thighbones, preferably of sheep and goats, and less often, tails of cattle or sheep and goats, though there are local variations which may relate to the divinity worshipped but also to the supply of victims.[44]

[38] *Athens*, 65 and 68 (regarding Mytilene).

[39] *Ephesos* III, 206–10 and fig. 21.2, cattle vertebrae particularly common in deposit HN; *Kommos* I, 441, Table 6.2.

[40] *Eretria*:177, Table 2.

[41] *Isthmia*:149–52, Table 1; *Kourion*:181–2; *Kommos* I:Table 6.2, 441 (Altar U), 446–7 (Altar H), 448–9 (Altar C); *Kommos* II:683–4; *Miletos*:122, fig. 3 and 124–5, fig. 4 (no pigs' bones listed among the calcined remains); *Eretria*:177, Table 2; *Ephesos* I:110 and 115; cf. *Ephesos* II:68.

[42] *Athens*, 68; *Ephesos* III:208–9, fig. 21.2; *Ephesos* II:67–8; *Nemea*:137 and 141; possibly also the altar deposit at Asea, see *Asea*:201. Pig bones were recovered from the altar of Asklepios at Messene (*Messene* I:297, Tables 3 and 4), but the precise find context nor the state of the evidence (burnt or unburnt) are specified. The burnt pig bones from the Sarapeion C on Delos is of less relevance for Greek cult practices, see Leguilloux (2003:507–8); Brun and Leguilloux (2013).

[43] *Mytilene*, 209; Bookidis and Stroud (1997:78), Area D; cf. *Ephesos* V:85–6. At these sanctuaries, unburnt piglet and pig bones have also been recovered.

[44] The consumption debris from some sanctuaries sometimes shows a noticeable correspondence to the altar remains, as there is a very low frequency of thighbones, tail vertebrae and sacra, see, for example, *Samos*:4–7 and 41–2, as well as Tables 2 and 3, though note that two calcined femora were

A brief look at the chronology of these deposits is also of interest. The earliest assemblages seem to consist mainly of thighbones, and a group of burnt sheep or goat femora from the Protogeometric levels at the Artemision at Ephesos probably represents one of the earliest documented instances of *thysia* sacrifice; though the publication of the material from the ash altar of Zeus on Mt Lykaion will probably push the date even further back.[45] The Late Geometric and early Archaic deposits, such as the altar at the *Aire sacrificielle* at Eretria and sanctuary of Apollon Hylates at Kourion on Cyprus, rarely contain any remains of sacrum bones and parts of the tail region, and though the early Archaic Altar U at Kommos yielded cattle tail vertebrae, the burnt material mainly consisted of ovicaprine femora.[46] A predominance of vertebrae and, in particular, tail vertebrae seems to be found only at the altar of Aphrodite Ourania at Athens and in the sanctuary of Demeter at Mytilene, deposits which date to the early fifth century and fourth to first centuries BC, respectively.[47] At the Long Altar at Isthmia, the burnt Archaic deposits have yielded mainly thighbones and there are no remains of tails before the early fifth century BC.[48]

Keeping in mind the limited size of the sample, it can still be taken to suggest that the burning of thighbones may have been the older and original practice at a *thysia* sacrifice.[49] The Homeric poems, which only mention the *meria* as placed in the fire for the gods, confirm this impression, as do the Mycenaean deposits from the palace at Pylos, which consisted of thighbones, upper front legs and mandibles, which had been stripped of meat and burnt.[50] The practice of burning the *osphys* as the god's portion may at many sites have been a later addition to the *thysia* ritual, perhaps imported to Greece from the

also found; *Eretria*:175–85; *Tegea*:200, figs. 5–6; *Thasos*:804–7; *Tenos*:444–6 and 450–4, figs. 14, 15 and 20; *Olympia* (2006:154–6); for a more detailed discussion of the relation between altar debris – leftovers from meals in sanctuaries – see Ekroth (2009:139–42).

[45] *Ephesos* V:88–90. The number of bones in this assemblage is very small. The ash altar on Mt Lykaion contained a huge quantity of burnt femora, patellas and caudal vertebrae and activity seems to have started already in the Late Bronze Age, intensifying in the Protogeometric period, see Starkovich et al. (2013); Starkovich in Romano and Voyatzis (2014:644–8). The burnt material from the Middle, Late and Sub–Geometric levels at Thermon also consisted mainly of long bones or ribs of ovicaprines, see Gardeisen (2008:308).

[46] *Eretria*:177, Table 2; *Kourion*:181–2; *Kommos* I:441, Table 6.2.

[47] *Athens*:65–7 and 68 (for the zooarchaeological evidence from Mytilene).

[48] *Isthmia*:149–52, Table 1. The early deposits only consist of a small number of bones, but remains of the tail section mainly derive from the contexts dating to the latter half of the fifth and the fourth centuries.

[49] At Kalapodi, all species from LH IIIC and onwards show a lack of sacra and caudal vertebrae, which may suggest an early occurrence of the burning of the *osphys*, see Felsch (2001:196–7); *Kalapodi*:162. On the other hand, the missing parts may also have been removed to serve as priestly *gera* and not only as the god's portion.

[50] Isaakidou et al. (2002:86–92); Halstead and Isaakidou (2004:136–54; see also Isaakidou and Halstead (2013).

Near East, where the burning of the tail was part of Israelite sacrificial rituals.[51] To place the *osphys* in the fire and observe its movements may have been one of several means of divination which were taken over by the Greeks from the east during the early Archaic period, the tail curving on the altar apparently being recognized as a sign of the gods having received the sacrifice and being pleased.[52] It may here also be noted that one of the earliest instances of the burning of the tail comes from the seventh-century BC Altar U at Kommos, a sanctuary that demonstrates definite Near Eastern cultic influences and may even be a Phoenician installation.[53]

Theoxenia and Zooarchaeology

On the whole, the altar debris concurs with the written and iconographical sources as to the importance of thighbones and tails making up what was to be burnt at a *thysia*, but the bones allow us to distinguish chronological and geographical variations within the ritual, as to the types of animals chosen and which parts to burn. However, some altar deposits demonstrate a greater deviation from the notion based on the texts and images of which bones should be found in such an assemblage and may therefore indicate a different ritual.

At the Long Altar in the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia, the Archaic and Classical deposits recovered consisted of bones from cattle, sheep and goats, of which more than 98 percent were burnt.[54] Hindquarters, and especially thighbones, were particularly common – characteristics of a typical altar debris. The interesting fact is that among the burnt bones from this altar, elements of the rest of the skeleton are represented as well, such as the rib cage, the head and the lower back legs, with one exception, the forelegs, which are almost entirely absent.[55] Also the evidence from the Greek sanctuary at Kommos, which has been published in great detail,

[51] See Ekroth (2009:146–9). For the burning of the tail at Israelite sacrifices, see Exodus 29:22; Leviticus 3:9, 7:3, 8:25 and 9.18–20; Milgrom (1991:210–13). The similarities between the sacrificial procedures at *thysia* and Israelite *selamim*, respectively, have been widely discussed, see, for example, Gill (1966); Burkert (1985:51); Bergquist (1993); West (1997:38–42); Milgrom (2000:2464).

[52] The importance of the *osphys* as a means for divination is evident from the *Prom. vinct*. 496–9, as well as the scholia to Aristophanes' *Peace* 1053 (ad *Pax* 1053). For the incorporation of Near Eastern ritual procedures, such as hepatoscopy, see West (1997:46–51); Burkert (1992:46–53).

[53] *Kommos* II:711–13; Shaw (1989).

[54] *Isthmia*:144 and 149–52, Table 1.

[55] The forelegs missing from the altar deposit must have been removed at some stage, perhaps to be given to priests or other dignitaries as choice portions. The bones from the altar area have to be matched against the bones found in the Large Circular Pit, to the south-west of the temple, where the leftovers from the ritual meals were dumped, see *Isthmia*:131–2, 139–40 and 153, Table 2. Among these bones, 92.5 percent of which are unburnt, forelegs are over-represented, while there are very few femora. It seems likely that some animals were sacrificed at the altar and then later eaten in the area to the south-west.

demonstrates variations from the expected norm. Of particular interest are the more than 37 kg of burnt bones from Altar U, dated to *c.* 700–600 BC and connected to the second phase of Temple B.[56] The material represents at least nine sheep or goats and three cattle, that had had parts of them burnt on this altar.[57] Of the ovicaprines, thighbones dominate, while for the cattle there is a high frequency of tail vertebrae. From the sheep and goats there are also remains of forelegs and the lower parts of the back leg, as well as ribs and vertebrae of the back. The cattle bones include fragments of the lower back and front legs, the spine, the shoulder-blade and the head. The presence of bones from the feet of these animals is interesting, as these sections almost devoid of meat are usually thought to have been discarded at the flaying and initial butchering of the animal.[58]

The prominence of heavily burnt thighbones and tail vertebrae in the altar assemblages from Isthmia and Kommos clearly identifies them as the remains of *thysiai*, but the presence also of other parts of the victims suggests that we here encounter local variations in the execution of this ritual. The god's share placed in the altar fire was modified by the burning of a greater variety of bones from the victims. If we compare the deposits from Isthmia and Kommos with the burnt remains from the *Aire sacrificielle* at Eretria, for example, there is a stark contrast, as the burnt bones of that assemblage consisted to 93 percent of thighbones, kneecaps, and the occasional tail vertebra.[59]

The burning of a wider selection of bones on the altars at Isthmia and Kommos suggests that the deities at these sacrifices were given a larger share of the victims and not simply the thighbones and the tails. The question is, what ritual implications, if any, we may deduce from this distribution pattern. I would suggest that the following scenario could be imagined at these two sanctuaries. The victims were first killed at the altar in the usual manner and *meria* and *osphys* were cut out and burnt. The bodies were then divided, and some parts may have been displayed, either raw or cooked, next to the altar or even on the altar in a *trapezomata* ceremony. At some stage, either at the division or later, a number of bones would have been freed of meat and burnt in the altar fire, thus resulting in an altar deposit consisting of a wider selection of bones than simply femora, sacra and caudal vertebrae. The rest of the meat would have been cooked and eaten at the altar, or taken away to be prepared and consumed elsewhere; at

[56] *Kommos* I:422, Table 6.1, 441, Table 6.2, and pl. 6.3–6.4. [57] *Kommos* I:453, Table 6.4.
[58] See, e.g., the zooarchaeological material from the altar of Zeus/Jovis at Poseidonia, Leguilloux (2000:346); *Thasos*:807; *Tegea*:201; *Samos*:4, Table 2.
[59] *Eretria*:175 and 177, Table 2.

Isthmia, near the Large Circular Pit, into which the dinner debris was dumped, and at Kommos, perhaps inside Temple B, which may have served as a *hestiatorion*.[60]

Such a scenario may seem hypothetical, but a comparison with the handling of the bones from Isthmia and Kommos with a ritual described in the great *lex sacra* from Selinous, dated to *c.* 450 BC, is instructive. This inscription is unique for many reasons, not least since it contains one of the few explicit mentions of the burning of animal bones in a Greek sacred law.[61] Among the rituals outlined in this text is the following sacrifice to Zeus Meilichios (A 17–20):

17 τõι ἐν Εὐθυδάμο: Μιλιχίοι: κριὸν θ̣[υ]-
18 όντο. ἔστο δὲ καὶ θῦμα πεδὰ ϝέτος θύεν. τὰ δὲ *h*ιαρὰ τὰ δαμόσια ἐξ*h*⟨α⟩
ιρέτο καὶ τρά[πεζα]-
19 *ν*: προθέμεν καὶ Ϙολέαν καὶ τἀπὸ τᾶς τραπέζας: ἀπάργματα καὶ τὸστέα
κα[τα]-
20 κᾶαι: τὰ κρᾶ μέχφερέτο. καλέτο [*h*]όντινα λεῖ.

> To [Zeus] Meilichios in the plot of Euthydamos let them sacrifice a ram. And let it also be possible to sacrifice after a year. Let him take out the public *hiara* and put out a table before [them], and burn a thigh and the offerings from the table and the bones. Let no meat be carried out [of the precinct]. Let him invite whomever he wishes.[62]

The ritual prescribed here has convincingly been shown by the editors of the inscription to be a *thysia* sacrifice at which a *theoxenia* ritual is performed.[63] At *theoxenia*, the god was invited as an honoured guest and offered a table laden with food, cooked meat in particular, and a couch to recline on. The ritual is documented in literary, epigraphical and iconographical sources and was used for all kinds of divinities.[64] At Selinous, the ram is killed and presumably thighbones and/or *osphys*

[60] *Isthmia*:131–2, 139–40 and 153, Table 2. The distinctions between the species and body parts between the exterior Altar U and the interior hearths of Temple B suggest that the building could have been used for meals following the sacrifices, see *Kommos* II:677, 683–4 and 687–8.

[61] Jameson, Jordan and Kotansky (1993:A 18–20). The burning of *meria* may be mentioned in a fragmentary cult regulation of Herakles from Miletos, *c.* 500 BC, *LSA* 42, B, line 2; cf. *LS* 89, line 6, a regulation of the mysteries at Phanagoria at the Black Sea, second century AD, a *holokaustesis* perhaps of thighbones. Also the intriguing regulation of the deme Phrearrhioi (*c.* 300–250 BC) refers to *meria*, perhaps to be placed on the altars and burnt, see *NGSL* 3, 16–17 with commentary; Ekroth (2013a).

[62] Translation by Jameson, Jordan and Kotansky (1993:15).

[63] Jameson, Jordan and Kotansky (1993:62–70); Jameson (1994a:43–5).

[64] Jameson 1994a; Jameson, Jordan and Kotansky (1993:67–70); Gill (1974:117–34).

are cut out and burnt, an action considered as too much of a standard procedure to be mentioned.[65] The animal is then divided, but one back leg is kept intact, though its thighbone may have been cut out and burnt with the other thighbone. The rest of the body, or a part of it, is stripped of meat, and this meat is put on the table, and the clean bones are also preserved. After displaying the meat and perhaps also the back leg and the bones, the ritual is concluded by taking some meat from the table, *apargmata* (l. 19), and burning it together with the back leg and the bones. The rest of the meat is consumed in the sanctuary, as it was forbidden to carry it away (l. 20).

The ritual prescribed in the Selinous *lex sacra* seems to be very similar to the activity which can be reconstructed from the zooarchaeological evidence from the Long Altar at Isthmia and from Altar U at Kommos. The burning of a wider selection of bones than the usual *meria* and *osphys* at all three sites must have been of ritual importance and a suggestion is to see it as a different and previously unrecognized manner of staging a *theoxenia* ritual, using not only meat but also bones. At most *theoxenia*, the food on the sacred table was taken by the religious functionaries at the end of the ceremony, but at Selinous the ritual was modified as the thigh, the bones and some of the meat were transferred to the divine sphere by means of fire as well, representing a moirocaust, to use Scott Scullion's well-found term.[66] Possibly some meat was burnt with the bones also at Isthmia and Kommos, though this cannot be ascertained from the bones alone. In any case, the divinity was offered a more extensive share of the animal victims by increasing the number of bones burnt on the altar and perhaps also some meat.

To perform a *theoxenia* ceremony, and to invite the deity and offer him a table with food and a *kline* to lie back on, have been interpreted as means for intensifying a *thysia*, in order to bring the gods closer during this ritual and to negotiate the divide between immortals and mortals inherent in *thysia* sacrifice.[67] The display and burning of the bones from the meat at some instances of *theoxenia* can be seen as an additional way of modification. In the end, almost the entire skeleton would join the thighbones and the *osphys* on the altar.[68]

[65] For possible instances of the *meria* being specifically mentioned to be burnt, see the examples in n. 61.

[66] Scullion (2000:165–6).

[67] For the ritual function and meaning of *theoxenia*, see Jameson (1994a:53–7); Bruit Zaidman (2005: 40–2); Ekroth (2008a). On *thysia* as separating gods and men, see Vernant (1989).

[68] A similar ritual may actually be referred to in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (136–7) when the god burns the hoofs and heads of the slaughtered cattle, after having cooked and divided the meat in

Sacrificial Victims, Food or Something Else

The evidence considered so far has focused on how the zooarchaeological evidence can be connected to sacrificial rituals as we know them from written and iconographical sources. The bone material clearly presents us with a more complex and varied view of both *thysia* and *theoxenia*, and informs our understanding of these rituals as we encounter them in texts, inscriptions and images.

For the rest of this chapter, I will address the issue of animal sacrifice and meat consumption. Modern scholarship has often claimed that both the killing of animals and the eating of meat in Greek antiquity were intimately linked to the sacrifice of domestic animals, and that animal sacrifice was a prerequisite for the consumption of meat.[69] Though generally accepted, this position has met with some disbelief, as there is evidence for killing animals and handling meat which seems incompatible with sacrifice, both as to the species involved and where the actions took place.[70] The zooarchaeological material offers new possibilities for understanding the relation between these two activities and suggests that the modern concept "animal sacrifice" should be reconsidered and diversified.

From the written and iconographical sources, it is clear that the Greeks sacrificed and ate cattle, sheep, goats and pigs. Folkert van Straten's seminal study *Hiera Kala* has clearly demonstrated that what is to be considered as the preferred sacrificial species depends on the kind of source material used.[71] In the sacrificial representations on the vase-paintings, the cattle dominate, while on the votive reliefs pigs or piglets are most frequent. In the sacrificial calendars and sacred laws, on the other hand, sheep are the preferred victims. Each kind of evidence clearly had its own reality.

The zooarchaeological evidence from Greek sanctuaries confirms the predominance of cattle, ovicaprines and swine, but the bones also show the presence of a greater diversity of species. The question is how this variation is to be interpreted and how we are to understand the presence of deer, wild boars, foxes, bears, horses, mules, dogs, cats, chicken, geese, pigeons, weasels, turtles and snakes, not to mention crocodiles, antelopes, gazelles, camels, vultures, lions and hippopotamuses. Do the bones of these animals

a manner resembling a *theoxenia* ritual, see Ekroth (2008a:203); Jaillard (2007:114–18); and Thomas in this volume (Chapter 7).

[69] Vernant (1989:25 and 38); Durand (1989b); Burkert (1985:55); Jameson (1988a:87–8); Davidson (1997:15–16).

[70] See Ekroth (2007:249–52). [71] van Straten (1995:170–86).

represent sacrificial victims, are they animals which have been consumed or do they correspond to other types of activity? Does the variety of animals reflect a more diversified taste among the dining worshippers, and perhaps also among the gods, than our written and iconographical sources tell us?

The problem with what to make of the unusual animals has been more or less avoided by passing over most of these species in a sketchy manner at publication, often by listing the bones of the major, domesticated animals eaten today, while referring the rest to a separate category, sometimes under the heading "non-edible species." In all, the zooarchaeological material recovered in any sanctuary rarely contains more than 10 percent of species other than cattle, sheep, goats or pigs. On the other hand, these animals are part of the archaeological context of the cult place. Modern biases regarding what can be eaten or what the Greeks may have sacrificed and consumed should not lead to a dismissal of these remains simply as garbage and intrusions. A closer look at the evidence shows that the picture is more complex.

The analysis of these more unusual species has first of all to consider what type of bones from each kind of animal is present, as well as the find contexts. Claws, paw bones, teeth and horns form a particular group, as such bones could have been attached to animal skins displayed in the sanctuary or been dedicated as individual bone offerings rather than as part of cuts of meat, especially when deriving from rare or non-local animals.[72] Horns, and perhaps also skulls, could have been kept as memorials of sacrifices or assembled into altars.[73] The exotic fauna is best interpreted as unusual and tantalizing bones being given as votives, perhaps as recollections of travel or experiences abroad. These exceptional pieces can seldom constitute evidence for these animals having been sacrificed and eaten. The phalanx of a gazelle found in Messene and an astragal of the same animal from the Artemision at Ephesos are not to be taken as the remains of sacrificial victims, neither as the leftovers of outlandish meals, but as votives.[74] The same goes for the camel, vulture and ostrich bones from Ephesos, as well as for the bear teeth from the same site, which are pierced and may have belonged to a piece of jewellery.[75] The Heraion on Samos is particularly rich in such zooarchaeological finds, one of the more spectacular being the jaw of a crocodile which when alive must have measured more than five metres from the snout to the tip of the

[72] For the dedication of skins in sanctuaries, see *Anth. Pal.* 6.111, 112, 115 and 116; Diod. Sic. 4.22 (heads and feet); see also Larson in this volume (Chapter 2).
[73] See above, n. 25. [74] *Messene* II:106–7; *Ephesos* I:114; *Ephesos* IV:231–2.
[75] Bammer (1998:38–9, Table 1, and 40, fig. 12).

tail.[76] Just as fossils have been suggested to have inspired Greek myths, exotic bones could have been used in the construction of both the dedicator's personal history and that of the community or the sanctuary.[77]

Leaving the individual bones aside, of prime interest are instead bones from the meat-bearing parts of the animals and, in particular, when the bones from the species usually considered as "non-edible" have been recovered together with the cattle, sheep, goat and pig bones, that is, the remains of animals which definitely were sacrificed and eaten. Furthermore, the bones should derive from assemblages that represent the debris from altars or leftovers from meals where the meat had been consumed.

If we begin with the bones interpreted as dinner debris, the bulk is made up of sheep and goats, cattle and pigs, but mixed with these remains are also dogs, equids and game, often demonstrating the same butchering marks and usually being unburnt. At the *Aire sacrificielle* to the north of the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria has been found an Archaic deposit of unburnt sheep, goat and pig bones, which demonstrate all the characteristics of being leftovers from meals. Among these bones were recovered the remains of two dogs with knife marks, attesting to their being flayed and gutted, and chopping marks indicating the meat being divided into smaller portions.[78] The variation of anatomical elements, the fragmentation of the bones and the traces of butchering show that these dogs did not accidentally end up with the sheep, goats and pigs, but they had been slaughtered and consumed, just as had the other animals. At Isthmia, the remains of the dining in the Archaic and Classical periods were dumped in the Large Circular Pit, a former reservoir, to the south-west of the temple of Poseidon. The bones recovered represent at least twenty-five cattle, thirty-two sheep or goats and five pigs, but also one dog, some bones of which showed signs of being butchered.[79] The unburnt deposits around the late Archaic altar of Artemis at Olympia, which consisted mainly of sheep and goat and to a lesser extent of cattle, as well as some pig bones, also contained remains of dog.[80] Among the bones from the kitchen in the sanctuary of Poseidon and Amphitrite on Tenos were not only cattle, pigs, sheep and goat but also dog.[81]

[76] Boessneck and von den Driesch (1981); Boessneck and von den Driesch (1983a); Kyrieleis (1993: 138) cf. Kyrieleis (1988:220–1), for the offering of a bone of a fossilized, Pleistocene hippopotamus.

[77] Tassignon (2005); cf. Mayor (2000).

[78] *Eretria*:180 and pl. 142.6.

[79] *Isthmia*:140.

[80] *Olympia*:156 – only 2 canine bones from a total of 1380 specimens, though consisting of a pelvic bone and a tibia, both meat-bearing parts.

[81] *Tenos*:451, Table 7, two fragments of crania and one from radius–ulna. Bones from more than thirty-three dogs, often the upper legs, have been recovered with the animal bones from Didyma, interpreted by the excavator to have been eaten at ritual meals in the sanctuary of Artemis just as

These examples show that among the domesticated animals eaten in sanctuaries we also have to include the dog, but this is not the only domesticated species encountered among the bones in the dinner debris deposits.[82] In the sanctuary kitchen on Tenos was found a fragment of the head of a donkey, and a Hellenistic deposit at the Herakleion on Thasos contained unburnt horse bones with butchering marks corresponding to the meat being eaten; the ribs seem to have been particularly appreciated and had been cut up into portions.[83] The horse bones from the Artemision at Ephesos have chop marks clearly showing that they had been divided to be eaten.[84] The dinner debris from the cave sanctuary at Pilarou on Thera contained a substantial number of donkey bones, while the sanctuary of the Heroes and Demeter at Messene yielded a small quantity of horse and donkey among the unburnt zooarchaeological material recovered in a pit in the centre of the courtyard.[85] Also at the sanctuary of Athena at Ilion horses seem to have been consumed in the fourth century BC.[86] The retrieval of the equid bones among the remains of the other domesticated species definitely eaten shows that horses, donkeys and mules recovered in Greek sanctuaries are not to be routinely dismissed as garbage or intrusions in these deposits.[87]

Finally, a surprising number of remains of non-domesticated animals have been recovered in ritual contexts, the most common species being red deer, fallow deer, roe deer and wild boar, and occasional bones of wild fauna can be found at most sanctuary sites.[88] At Messene, in the sanctuary of the Heroes and Demeter, as much as a fifth of the zooarchaeological material from the early Archaic and Classical periods derives from wild animals, mainly red deer of all ages, roe deer, wild goat and a substantial amount of wild boar, but also bear, fox, weasel and wolf are present.[89] These wild species are mixed with the bones of cattle, sheep, goats and pigs,

the other animals found in the Didyma deposits, see Tuchelt (1992:75); Boessneck and Schäffer (1986:285–94); Boessneck and van den Driesch (1983b:641–6). These bones have recently been proposed to be the garbage from a Roman meat-market, a *macellum*, rather than the remains of ritual activity, see Bumke (2006:224–9. At the altar in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Tamassos, Cyprus, a substantial quantity of broken dog bones were found, see Nobis (1976–7:285), suggesting a consumption of canine meat.

[82] Among settlement debris, dog bones are also found, sometimes with cut marks corresponding to the flesh having been eaten, see *Miletos*:117–18; see also Roy (2007). There is a certain hesitation among excavators and zooarchaeologists to consider dogs as food, see Snyder and Klippel (2003).

[83] *Tenos*:427, Table 2; *Thasos*:819. [84] *Ephesos* I:109–10.

[85] *Thera*:155–6 and 167; *Messene* II:103, Table 3 and 105. [86] Rose (2006:91).

[87] For the written evidence concerning the consumption of equids, see Dalby (2003:180), sv. horse; Dalby (1996:61).

[88] For evidence of deer in Greek sanctuaries, see also the chapter by Larson in this volume (Chapter 2).

[89] *Messene* II:101–2, Tables 2 and 3.

and are unburnt and fragmented, just as the domesticated animals, which make up the bulk of the bones. At the altar of Asklepios at the same site, 10 percent of the animals are non-domesticated, mainly red deer and wild boar.[90] The find context, selection of body parts and the degree of burning is not reported, unfortunately, and it is not known if these bones represent altar debris or dinner refuse. Next to the temple of Artemis Orthia, also at Messene, a variety of wild animal bones were recovered, around 5 percent of all the zooarchaeological material, including aurochs, red deer, roe deer, wild goat, wild boar, fox, hare, turtle and wolf.[91] The wolf bones included a shoulder-blade, a bone from the fleshier part of the body.[92] Fallow deer bones have been also recovered at the Heraion on Samos. Among the body parts are forelegs, which had been handled in the same manner as the other bones of domesticated species in these dinner deposits.[93] Also the deer bones from the Artemision at Ephesos bear cut marks compatible with them being dinner debris, and so do some of the bear bones from the same sanctuary.[94]

As a final example can be mentioned the sanctuary of Apollon and Artemis at Kalapodi where the wild fauna constitutes a little more than 6 percent of the bones from the Archaic period.[95] The preferred species were red deer, fallow deer, roe deer and wild boar, represented by vertebrae and fore and back legs, which means good, meaty parts.[96] Among the more spectacular finds from Kalapodi is the shoulder-blade of a lion, found in a mixed Geometric-Archaic layer in the central sanctuary.[97] This scapula bears traces of fire and has chop marks, possible indications of this lion having been eaten, though these traces may have derived from skinning and accidental burning.[98] This particular case disregarded, a closer inspection of the animal bones clearly indicates that game and other non-domesticated animals were part of the menu at meals taking place in sanctuaries.

Did All the Animals Die at the Altar?

The consumption in sanctuaries of occasional dogs, horses, deer, wild boars, bears, birds, fish and other non-domesticated animals should not

[90] *Messene* I:298–9, Table 2 and 3, context B4.
[91] *Messene* I:298–9, Table 2 and 3, contexts B2 and B3. [92] *Messene* I:302.
[93] *Samos*:3–5, Table 1–3, and 37. [94] *Ephesos* IV:231; cf. *Ephesos* I:108.
[95] *Kalapodi*:169, Table 48. [96] *Kalapodi*:87–119. [97] *Kalapodi*:114.
[98] Cf. the lion bones from the Artemision at Ephesos, some of which may be the remains of meals, see *Ephesos* IV:231. The consumption of lion meat is mentioned by Galen, *De alim. fac*. K 664, though it is clearly considered as an inferior kind of food.

be too surprising, as these species occur in the consumption debris from settlement contexts.[99] The question is whether all animals were actually taken alive into the sanctuary and there sacrificed at the altar, before being cooked and consumed. Just because they are present in the consumption debris, are we to consider dogs, horses and game as sacrificial victims?

A comparison has here to be made between the altar deposits and the leftovers from meals. The burnt remains from the altars, which represent the god's portion of the sacrificial victims, consist of cattle, sheep and goats, a much more limited selection than the range of species present in the dinner debris. Thighbones and tails from dogs, horses and game were not placed in the altar fire, and rarely were those of pigs. The bone material indicates a distinction in species between the animals present in the remains that come from the activity at the altar and the debris being left after the worshippers had eaten the meat, suggesting that not all animals eaten at ritual meals had been sacrificed at the altar with all the trappings of a *thysia*.

Occasionally we are in the fortunate situation that allows comparisons to be made between altar debris and dining refuse from the same site, such as at Isthmia. Here, cattle, sheep and goats were sacrificed and burnt at the Long Altar, while the dining debris recovered from the Large Circular Pit, to the south-west of the temple, contained bones of the same species as at the altar, but also at least five pigs and a dog.[100] Some of the cows, sheep and goats sacrificed at the altar may have been eaten at the Large Circular Pit, but at these meals were also consumed animals that have left no traces at the altar. At the Herakleion on Thasos, the deposit that is connected with the altar contains sheep, goat and cattle, while pig bones are only found in the dinner debris dumped elsewhere.[101] From the Artemision at Ephesos, the burnt bones consist of sheep, goats and cattle, while the unburnt dinner debris also included swine and small quantities of equids and game.[102] At Kommos, there are no burnt pig bones on the exterior altars U, H and C, while on the hearths inside Temples B and C, buildings which may have functioned as dining rooms, *hestiatoria*, contemporary with Altars U and C, respectively, remains of pigs were found, in later periods in large quantities, together with fishbones, seashells and eggshells.[103] At Eretria, the Late Geometric altar material from the *Aire*

[99] See Columeau (2000:154–6); *Miletos*:117–19, Table 1; Snyder and Klippel (2003); Roy (2007).
[100] *Isthmia*:133–7, 140 and 149–53, Tables 1 and 2.
[101] *Thasos*:804–14 and 817–19.
[102] *Ephesos* I:107–15 and Plan 3; *Ephesos* IV:226–31.
[103] *Kommos* I:Table 6.1, 419 and 427 (Temple B), 422 (Altar U), 430–1 (Altar H), 431–2 (Temple C) and 434 (Altar C), Table 6.2, 441 (Altar U), 439 and 444 (Temple B), 446 (Altar H), 447 (Temple C), 448–9 (Altar C), cf. 450, Table 6.3 and 476; *Kommos* II:683–5.

sacrificielle consists almost exclusively of burnt sheep and goat thighbones, kneecaps, sacrum bones and tail vertebrae. In a series of contempoary hearths in front of the temple of Apollo, bones of sheep and goat, but also pigs and dogs were found, though the relation between these deposits and the *Aire sacrificielle* is far from ascertained.[104]

The sanctuary at Kalapodi once more offers a tantalizing case. The early Archaic ash deposit consisted of *c*. 50 percent small burnt bone splinters, though the fragmentary and apparently unburnt state of the rest of the bones, especially the long bones, suggest that they represent dinner debris.[105] Interestingly, throughout the deposits from the LH IIIC period and onwards, sacra and tails are missing, not only from the domesticated species, but also from the wild animals, suggesting a possible *thysia* treatment also of these.[106] However, as the parts lacking may not only represent the portions removed to be burnt for the gods, but also honorary shares given as priestly perquisites, certainty can only be gained by recovery of the altar deposits.[107]

The bone material suggests that not all animals eaten in the sanctuaries had been killed at an altar in the full *thysia* manner, with all the preceding rituals, and thighbones and tails cut out and burnt for the gods. Some of the animals, or even most of the animals consumed at the meals following a sacrifice could very well have been slaughtered in the sanctuary, though not sacrificed at the altar. It is also possible that some animals never entered the sanctuary alive to be killed there. Whole carcasses or sections, such as heads, legs and backs, already butchered to supplement the live victims, may have been brought by the individuals who had killed the animals themselves at home or during a hunt, or this meat could have been bought in the market where the animals had been slaughtered by a professional butcher. On the other hand, even if a *thysia* did not take place each time an animal was killed, such slaughter does not have to be considered as secular in our sense of the term, and it could very well have been accompanied by libations, cutting of hair from the animal's head, prayer and sprinkling of some blood.[108] Jewish *kosher* and Muslim *hâllal* butchering provide contemporary examples of how the procuring of meat can be considered as something holy also within daily life.

[104] Chenal–Velarde (2001:25–35, esp. 29, Table 1).
[105] *Kalapodi*:13–14 and 162–4.
[106] Felsch (2001:196–7); *Kalapodi*:162.
[107] For the inclusion of the *osphys* in the prerogatives of the priest, see Ekroth (2009:131); Dimitrova (2008:251–7).
[108] For a discussion of such scaled-down rituals, see Berthiaume (1982:62–70 and 79–93); Ekroth (2007:268–72).

The bones from dogs, equids and game indicate that such animals only constituted a small part of the meat eaten in sanctuaries. At some sites, the material can be taken to represent a few animals, or even parts of animals, and the reasons for bringing this meat to the sanctuary may have been diverse. A use within ritual seems to be the less likely explanation for the presences of canines and equids in most instances, as the evidence for sacrifice of dogs is scant and mainly concerns rituals where the animals were destroyed or abandoned, such as purifications or sacrifices to divinities such as Hekate or Enyalios.[109] There are two vase-paintings, which may show dog sacrifices, but the nature of the rituals is difficult to grasp.[110] A similar situation applies regarding horses, donkeys and mules. Although spectacular horse sacrifices are known for Poseidon and Helios, where the animals could be plunged into the sea, as well as in mythic contexts, such as holocausts at the burial of Patroklos, the consumption of meat from equids does not seem to have been part of any ritual.[111]

A desire or need to increase the amount of food available to be eaten on a particular occasion probably lies behind the presence of dogs and horses in the zooarchaeological deposits from sanctuaries. Canines and equids never seem to have been a prestigious kind of food, though the bone material suggests that they could be eaten on a fairly regular basis, even in sanctuaries.[112] The spectrum for what could be eaten by the Greeks was certainly wider than we tend to believe, as even animals dead from natural causes, *thnesidia* or *kenebreia*, are known to have been consumed.[113]

A will to supplement the major domesticated animals eaten may also explain the presence of bones from wild animals, as there is hardly any evidence in the written and iconographical sources of wild animals being sacrificed and eaten in sanctuaries.[114] On the other hand, the lack of mention of game in these documents may simply be because of the

[109] Theophr. *Char*. 16.13; Danner (2003:78); Zaganiaris (1975:323–8). See also the find of the remains of 150 domestic dogs in a well in the Athenian Agora, Snyder (1999:284).

[110] Attic red-figure lekythos, Athens NM 1695, van Straten (1974:179, fig. 30). Boiotian red-figure skyphos, Athens NM 12591, Avronidaki (2008:8–14, plates 5.3 and 6.4). For discussion of these vases, see Ekroth (2013b:24–5).

[111] See Georgoudi (2005b), for the written evidence.

[112] A few mentions in the written sources give at hand that the Greeks could eat dogs, though they were often considered as a kind of marginal food or to be used for medical purposes, see Dalby (1996:60); Dalby (2003:120, sv. Dog); Roy (2007:344–8). A market for donkey meat is mentioned by Pollux 9.48, see also Berthiaume (1982:92–3).

[113] Berthiaume (1982:81–92). Animals dead from natural causes may perhaps not have been brought to sanctuaries for reasons of impurity, see *LSCG* 124, line 14, regulation for the purity of a sanctuary, Eresos, second century BC; Ekroth (2007:266).

[114] A fifth-century Attic votive relief shows a family at an altar offering a goose and leading a deer, presumably a sacrificial victim, Athens NM 1950, *ThesCRA* I, 15, no. 91 (Hekate); *LIMC* II, Artemis,

difficulties of knowing to what extent the victims could be procured on a specific occasion and therefore they were left out.[115] Occasionally sacred laws stipulate wild victims, even specifying their weight, perhaps an indication that these animals were already dead and butchered when brought to the sanctuary.[116] Sections of wild animals could have been offered to the gods, a practice which would explain the finds of occasional bones of game in many sanctuaries. These cuts of meat may have been displayed on a sacred table as a part of *trapezomata* or *theoxenia* rituals, as suggested by the Archaic bronze plaques from the sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Kato Syme Viannou on Crete, which show young males carrying legs and heads of ibexes, as well as entire animals.[117] A regulation concerning royal taxes at Aigai, in the early third century BC, stipulates that back legs from game were to serve as honorary gifts, further demonstrating that such parts certainly could be a valued commodity.[118]

The meat from wild animals may also have fulfilled a particular function within a ritual, reflecting local practices or traits of the divine recipient and, not surprisingly, many of the sanctuaries with a higher representation of game belong to Artemis.[119] A famous passage in Xenophon's *Anabasis* (5.3.10) describes how he established a sanctuary to this goddess at Skillous. At the annual festival, there was a hunt, where the sons of Xenophon and of the villagers killed wild boars, roe and deer, partly on the grounds belonging to the sanctuary, and presumably these animals would have supplemented the other victims at the meals following the sacrifice. Scattered literary passages such as these can be better understood by comparison with the zooarchaeological evidence.

no. 461, *c.* 450–400 BC. The torch-bearing goddess receiving the sacrifice has been identified as Hekate or Artemis.

[115] Though deer may also have been kept in deer parks in order to facilitate the supply, see Nobis (1976–7:292); *Samos*:41. At Kassope, the settlement material contains a large quantity of deer and wild boar, which demonstrate a distribution as to age and sex which is not compatible with these animals having been hunted in the wild, see Columeau (2000:155–6).

[116] See *NGSL* 5, lines 37–8, provision of wild boar weighing 20 minae at the sacrifice to Herakles, Attika, early second century AD, cf. commentary to lines 37–8 (the difficulty lies in knowing whether *kapros* is a wild or domesticated boar). Cf. Paus. 8.38.8, a boar sacrificed to Apollon Epikourios at the agora of Megalopolis and, once slaughtered, to be taken to the sanctuary of Apollon Parrhasios where the thighs are cut out and burned, and the meat eaten, i.e. a case of an already dead victim brought to a sanctuary for further rituals. See also *LSS* 85, lines 29–30, sacrifice of a (wild?) boar, a dog and a kid to Enyalios, Lindos, late fifth century BC; cf. Stengel (1910:197–201).

[117] Lembessi (1985:230), for example, A37, 47, 50, 24 and 9 (legs) and A 29 (head). For the zooarchaeological evidence from this sanctuary, see Nobis (1988).

[118] Chandezon (2003:201–5), no. 52, lines 14–16, a *skelos* to be given from the hunted boars and deer.

[119] For a ritual explanation of the presence of deer bones, see Larson in this volume (Chapter 2).

The Particular Pigs

The absence of dogs, equids and game in the altar deposits is hardly unexpected. The very low number of pig bones in the burnt assemblages making up the god's portion is, on the other hand, more surprising.

Pigs were definitely eaten in sanctuaries, but there is a much larger number of pigs' bones in the consumption debris than among the bones from the altars. Demeter being the main deity worshipped most likely explains the high proportion of pig bones at sites such as Corinth, Ephesos, Kyrene and Knossos, as well as at the sanctuary of the Heroes and Demeter at Messene in the Hellenistic period.[120] But pigs are quite frequent also in the zooarchaeological material representing the dining refuse at the sanctuary of Poseidon and Amphitrite at Tenos, at Kalapodi, at the sanctuary of Herakles on Thasos and at Tegea in the sanctuary of Athena Alea, as well as in the later phases at Kommos.[121] At some sites, a considerable part of the meat eaten was pork, such as at the *Aire sacrificielle* at Eretria, where more than a fifth of the Archaic zooarchaeological evidence from the leftovers from meals derives from pigs.[122]

The number of pigs and piglets shown on votive reliefs and vase-paintings, and the fact that they occur in the sacrificial calendars, constitute evidence for pigs being ritually killed and considered as sacrificial victims.[123] On the other hand, the lack of pig bones in the altar deposits suggests that these animals may not always have been sacrificed in a *thysia* manner. Possibly a different ritual is to be imagined when it came to killing pigs in sanctuaries, at which the thighbones and tails were of less interest than in the cases involving cattle and ovicaprines.[124]

At first glance, the lack of pigs' tails in the altar deposits may be suspected to depend on their not curving and rising in the same manner as cows' tails when placed in a fire. If that was the case, the physical qualities of the pigs would make them unfit for one kind of ritual handling at a *thysia*. In order to resolve this issue, I conducted experiments with burning pigs' tails on a bed of glowing coals (Fig. 1.5). At first, an abundant and fragrant smoke rose to the sky, while after around ten to fifteen

[120] Bookidis and Stroud (1997:78 and 243); Bookidis et al. (1999:17, 32–8 and 51–2); *Ephesos* II, 55–70; Crabtree and Monge (1990:114–15); Jarman (1973:177–9); *Messene* II:102–3.

[121] *Tenos*:426–7, Tables 1–2; *Kalapodi*:56–68 and 155; *Thasos*:804, Table 1, and 817–19, Lot 6; *Tegea*: 198–9; *Kommos* I:450, Table 6.3, 476 and 481.

[122] *Eretria*:176, Table 1, and 179.

[123] See van Straten (1995:170–81).

[124] The deposition and/or burning of young pigs and piglets in Demeter sanctuaries constitutes an additional kind of ritual action, see *Mytilene*:209; *Ephesos* V:85–6; cf. Hamilakis and Konsolaki (2004), for the treatment of the piglets in the Mycenaean sanctuary at Methana.

minutes, the tip of the tails began to move and then to rise gracefully. In some cases, the tail ended up pointing towards the sky, while in other instances it described a full circle, finally touching the sacrum bone. The fact that a total novice, such as a modern scholar like myself, could accomplish the *hiera kala* with pigs' tails shows that it cannot have required particular skills. The lack of pigs' sacra and caudal vertebrae in the burnt debris from the altars cannot be explained by them not curving in the manner of the cows' tails, an essential element of a *thysia* sacrifice.

If pigs were sacrificed according to a different ritual, how would such actions have been accomplished? In the Demeter sanctuary at Kyrene was found a deposit of unburnt thighbones and pelvises of pigs together with ash and charcoal, and this material perhaps represents a different kind of sacrificial handling of pigs, where the *meroi* were cut out, but not burnt.[125] Of great interest in this context is the ritual killing of a pig described in book 14 of the *Odyssey*, an event which can suggest how such a ritual was executed. Here the pig herder Eumaios slaughters a fat swine to honour his guest, the disguised Odysseus. The killing takes place in Eumaios' house and focuses on other actions than a *thysia*. Some hair and meat from the boar are burnt on the household hearth for the gods and portions of cooked meat are put aside for the Nymphs and Hermes, but there is no indication of a particular handling of thighbones and tails, a fact which sets this ritual apart from the other sacrifices found in Homer.[126]

The Communal (and Chaotic) Casserole

The distribution of animal species and their respective find contexts, as evidenced in the zooarchaeological material, suggests that all animals eaten in a sanctuary on a particular occasion were not necessarily sacrificed at the altar. Such a distinction between sacrificial victims and other animals killed with the principal intent to procure meat, which can be perceived in the bone evidence, is actually confirmed by the epigraphical evidence.[127] A late second-century BC inscription from Amorgos records a private cult foundation by a man named Kritolaos for his dead son Aleximachos.[128] The annual festival included animal sacrifice, a public meal and games.

[125] Crabtree and Monge (1990:118). In some of the dinner debris deposits, the femora are missing from pigs as well as from cattle, sheep and goats, see *Olympia* (2006:156); *Tenos*:445–6, fig. 15.

[126] In fact, an alternative treatment of pigs was suggested already by Karl Meuli (1946:214, n. 1), see also Ekroth (2009:144, n. 83).

[127] On the concept of the *hiereion*, see also the discussion in Brulé and Touzé (2008).

[128] *LSS* 61, lines 40–65.

The officials in charge were to buy an ox, which was to be led in the procession from the prytaneion to be sacrificed probably in or at a private house (ll. 44–6). A huge meal was prepared, where the ox was eaten (ll. 49–50 and 62), but apparently the meat from other animals was consumed on this occasion as well, as the officials were ordered to sell the hides immediately. The plural *ta dermata* (l. 62) clearly shows that additional animals, apart from the ox led in the procession, must have been involved, though their kind and quantity are not given in the text and possibly they were not sacrificed at the altar together with the ox. Finally, there was to be a distribution of pigs' meat for the ephebes (l. 64). These pigs are not mentioned previously and we do not know how and when they were killed. They may not have been sacrificial victims in the same sense as the ox, or they were sacrificed according to a different ritual than the prestigious victim which was led in the procession, but the pork given to the ephebes might even have consisted of salted meat, bought for the occasion.[129]

If such a division between sacrificial victims and other animals can be made, are we still to speak of *ritual* meals taking place in sanctuaries, if not all the meat came from sacrificed animals? This we definitely can, I find, even if the actual sacrificial victim is likely to have held a particular status within the sphere of meat consumption, a fact that is evident from the detailed regulations in the sacred laws of how this meat was to be distributed.[130] However, the zooarchaeological material provides us with the insights not only of how different kinds of meat were handled in a sanctuary, but also of how meat from various kinds of animal and of various origins were integrated within the ritual. The important matter to consider here are the cooking methods chosen.

First of all, it should be made clear that burnt bones cannot help us understand the cooking procedure. Burning the bones in a fire results in carbonization and calcination, and the bones become splintered, wrapped, crinkled and shrunken from the heat.[131] The bones from the god's portion consumed by the fire on the altar have this appearance, but so does a holocaust of an entire animal, or the burning of the leftovers from

[129] For the consumption of salted meat based on the zooarchaeological evidence, see Leguilloux (2006).

[130] On the distinction of various degrees of sacredness of meat, see Ekroth (2007). See also Fred Naiden in this volume (Chapter 5) and Naiden (2013a), where he suggests that all present at a sacrifice may not have received meat from the sacrificial victim, as there was not enough for all. On the status of the *hiereion*, the sacrificial victim, see also Brulé and Touzé (2008).

[131] Very well documented in *Isthmia*:140–6, fig. 3–14.

a meal if the exposure had been long and hot enough.[132] The meal remains, on the other hand, would contain most fleshy parts of the skeleton, save the parts taken aside for the gods and parts removed in the initial stages of butchering, and the material would have a high degree of fragmentation, as the bones have usually been butchered into portions, and smashed and broken to access the marrow. It should be noted that these deposits often show a very low quantity of burnt bones, an essential distinction from the altar deposits. The zooarchaeological material from the sanctuary of the Heroes and Demeter at Messene was not burnt at all and few bones show traces of fire in the dinner deposits from the Heraion on Samos, the Herakleion on Thasos, the sanctuary of Poseidon and Amphitrite on Tenos, the sacrificial area at Eretria, the Large Circular Pit at Isthmia, the altar of Artemis at Olympia and the Pilarou cave sanctuary on Thera, to mention a few examples.[133]

In the dinner deposits, the proportions between unburnt bones and bones that show some traces of fire are important to take into account. Though meat may be roasted without scorching, grilling will only leave the outer ends of the bones charred by the fire, since the meat protects the rest of the bone from being affected by the fire. Boiling will of course leave no traces of fire at all. Our notion of cooking at Greek sacrifices is often (mis) guided by the information in our other sources and we tend to assume that grilling was the principal cooking method. In Homer, for example, all meat is grilled, and there is no consumption of boiled meat, a fact that gave rise to discussion already in antiquity.[134] The Attic vase-paintings show spits being held over the altar fire, and these scenes are often, and in my opinion wrongly, taken to be depictions of the grilling of meat. Depicted here is rather the grilling of the edible intestines, the *splanchna*, and the preparation of the meat usually took place elsewhere, in a particular kitchen, in the open air on the festival meadow or on the hearth in the *hestiatoria* for a select few, but not on the altar.[135]

Though boiling is seldom mentioned in our written sources and rarely depicted, presumably since this was a less prestigious manner of cooking, the fact that bones in the dinner deposits show so few traces of contact with

[132] Bones thrown back into the fire as a way of garbage disposal are usually only discoloured, not carbonized and calcined, see Mylona (2008:95–6).

[133] *Messene* II:100; *Samos*:7; *Thasos*:811 and 817; *Tenos*:426 and 444; *Eretria*:177, Table 2, and 181–2; *Isthmia*:140 and 153, Table 2B; *Olympia* (2006:154; *Thera*:153, 167 and 170. Cf. *Miletos*:124–5 and *Mytilene*:209.

[134] Pl. *Resp*. 4.404b–c; Euboulos, fr. 120K, ap. Ath. 25c; cf. Berthiaume (1982:15–16); Heath (2000).

[135] On the rendering of *splanchna* and the preparation of meat on Attic vases, see van Straten (1995: 131–41 and 144–53).

fire must lead to the conclusion that most of the meat eaten in the Greek sanctuaries was boiled.[136] This cooking method was convenient for several reasons, especially when preparing food for a large number of people. All the fat would stay in the rich broth, instead of spilling onto the fire as it does when the meat is grilled. If the meat was butchered into portions, the marrow was cooked and easily accessible, in particular if the bones were broken at a later stage, and the fragmentary state of the bones of the leftovers from meals indicates that marrow was a desired commodity.[137] Boiling would make the meat tender, a connection explicitly made by Philochoros, but also by the Cyclops in Euripides' satyric play with the same title, who states that he will grill some of Odysseus' companions while he boils the rest tender in the cauldron.[138]

However, apart from these practical and culinary advantages, boiling also constituted the best way of integrating the different kinds of meat available at the sanctuary. In the cauldron would be placed the meat from the animals sacrificed at the altar in the *thysia* manner, as well as the meat from the animals killed elsewhere, either inside the sanctuary or outside it, but also meat brought to the sanctuary already butchered into portions. All would be put into the "communal casserole" and, when boiled tender, no-one could distinguish between the different kinds of meat as to origin, species and where and how the killing had taken place, as it all would now constitute *sacred meat*, ready for distribution and consumption.[139]

Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I have attempted to show the potential of the zooarchaeological evidence for our understanding of Greek ritual practices, as well as the importance of a careful collection of the bone material, followed by

[136] For representations of boiling, see the "Ricci hydria," van Straten 1995, V154, fig. 122 (bottom); Athens, Acropolis:654, Gebauer (2002:Z 1, fig. 163); Paris, Louvre C 10918, Gebauer (2002:Z 21, fig. 185). On the importance of boiling of meat at sacrifices, see also Ekroth (2007:266–8); Ekroth (2008b:98–100); cf. Detienne (1977:174–82).

[137] An illustrative example of pot-size butchering is found in the sanctuary of Poseidon and Amphitrite on Tenos, where the long bones of sheep, goats and pigs had been divided into three parts, facilitating boiling of the meat and extraction of the marrow, as well as the distribution of suitable portions, see *Tenos*:442–3 and fig. 13; Étienne and Braun (1986:Bb 11, pl. 95 and 115, Eb 8 and 9, pl. 105 and 121), for the cooking pots.

[138] Phil. *FGrHist* 328, F 173; Eur. *Cycl.* 243–6. Around two-thirds of the meat of cattle, sheep, goat and pigs has a texture that requires it to be cooked at a high temperature, such as boiling, for a long period of time in order to become tender, see Dumont (1987:15–16).

[139] On the issue of "sacrificial" versus "sacred" meat, see Ekroth (2007). Boiling as a means for hiding the origin of the meat is a central theme in the myths of Tantalos and Lykaon where the gods are offered human flesh to eat, see Ekroth (2008b:95–102).

detailed analysis and publication. The zooarchaeological material can provide a perspective different from that offered by the written and iconographical sources and offers us rare insights into the practical execution of animal sacrifice by revealing the mundane reality of Greek ritual where not only beef, mutton and pork were eaten, but also dogs, horses and deer. One might even say that if the texts and the images present us with the picture that the Greeks wanted to convey, the animal bones may tell us what they actually did, whether or not they wanted us to know about it.

Appendix Principal Zooarchaeological Deposits from Greek Sanctuary Sites

Asea	Vila (2000)
Athens	Reese (1989)
Ephesos I	Bammer, Brein and Wolff (1978)
Ephesos II	Forstenpointner (2001)
Ephesos III	Forstenpointner (2003)
Ephesos IV	Forstenpointner, Krachler and Schildorfer (1999)
Ephesos V	Forstenpointner, Weissengruber and Galik (2005)
Eretria	Studer and Chenal-Velarde (2003)
Isthmia	Gebhard and Reese (2005)
Kalapodi	Stanzel (1991)
Kommos I	Reese, Rose and Ruscillo (2000)
Kommos II	Shaw (2000)
Kourion	Davis (1996)
Messene I	Nobis (1994)
Messene II	Nobis (1997)
Miletos	Peters and von den Driesch (1992)
Mytilene I	Ruscillo (1993)
Mytilene II	Ruscillo (2013)
Nemea	MacKinnon (2013)
Olympia	Benecke (2006)
Plakari	Groot (2014)
Samos	Boessneck and von den Driesch (1988)
Tegea	Vila (2000)
Tenos	Leguilloux (1999)
Thasos	Gardeisen (1996)
Thera	Becker (1997)

CHAPTER 2

Venison for Artemis? The Problem of Deer Sacrifice

Jennifer Larson

In spite of more than a century of scholarly work, there is still no widely accepted definition of animal sacrifice in the ancient Mediterranean world. This is the case because the varied and complex ritual uses of animal bodies defeat all attempts to distill their essence. One recognizable subset of sacrifice, however, is alimentary sacrifice, in which the animal is conceptualized primarily as a source of food, rather than a tool for purification, divination, or magic. The influential Paris school of Marcel Detienne and Jean-Pierre Vernant has described Greek alimentary sacrifice as limited by its very conceptual structure to domesticated animals. The proper consumption of domesticated animals through sacrifice is a cultural linchpin that situates human beings midway between animals and gods and allows humans to define themselves as civilized. Adopting an even broader, cross-cultural theory of sacrifice, Jonathan Z. Smith says that sacrifice "appears to be, universally, the ritual killing of a domesticated animal by agrarian or pastoralist societies." He describes sacrificial ritual as the elaboration and culmination of the selective breeding and killing that lie at the core of domestication.[1]

The presence of bones from deer and other wild animals in some Greek sanctuaries, particularly those of Artemis, presents a challenge to this interpretation. Modern studies in archaeozoology suggest that from prehistory to the present in Europe and the Near East, certain animals have existed in a third state, neither domesticated nor wild, but subject to an unusual degree of interaction with and control by humans. These include

* I would like to thank Alexandra Villing for her helpful comments on an earlier draft of this chapter, as well as Jack Sasson and Ian Rutherford for suggesting bibliography.

[1] J. Z. Smith (1987:149); Detienne and Vernant (1989:5, 8, 37–8); Vernant (1991:298–9). With respect to Greek religion, the idea that wild creatures were excluded from sacrifice was anticipated at the turn of the century by Paul Stengel, who argued that the conventions of Greek sacrifice required that a tame, live animal be brought to the altar and that it should "agree" to the sacrifice by nodding its head or giving some other sign. Bringing a dead animal to the altar would violate the conventions; therefore wild animals could not be sacrificial victims. See Stengel (1890:85), (1910:201).

various antelopes, wild caprids, and especially deer. While the dietary importance of these animals has varied according to the period and place, their significance in the symbolic and alimentary systems of ancient Mediterranean cultures is great enough to merit a more substantial role in any theoretical description of ancient human–animal relations. Furthermore, the use of these animals as sacrificial victims, if shown to be normative in certain cults, regions, or periods, would require accommodation in any view of sacrifice that locates its primary significance in a strict distinction between domesticated and wild animals and sees sacrifice and hunting as polar opposites.

Bones from deer and other wild animals are not unusual finds in Greek sanctuaries, but how can we determine whether they are the products of sacrifice? Especially in the case of large, dangerous animals like wild pigs and bears, remains such as skulls, teeth, and tusks may have been brought to the sanctuary as votive gifts. Literary sources speak of heads and skins of deer hung from trees as dedications to Artemis and Apollo, and while this practice is sometimes understood to take place in the wilderness, such trophies were also brought into sanctuaries as thank offerings for the successful hunt.[2] In the study of Greek religion, we distinguish this type of offering from one in which the freshly killed animal is dismembered, and parts of its body are set aside for the deity (usually by burning on an altar) while other parts are cooked and consumed in a ritual of commensality.[3] The best available criteria for determining whether this was the case for a given deer specimen are proximity of the bones to an altar, location of bones in deposits with the remains of domesticated animals presumed to be sacrificial victims, the distribution of bone types, and whether any of the bones show signs of burning.[4]

Recently analyzed bones from Blegen's excavation of the Mycenaean palace of Pylos have revealed evidence of sacrifice that appears similar to the normative process described by Homer (*Od.* 3.4–11) in the episode of

[2] *Anth. Pal.* 6.110 (antlers nailed to pine tree), 6.111 (skin and horns dedicated to Artemis Agrotera), 6.112 (dedication to Apollo), 6.253 (to nymphs and Pan); Diod. Sic. 4.22 (Sicilian tradition of hanging heads and feet on trees).

[3] There is no widely accepted definition of sacrifice. In this chapter I focus on alimentary sacrifice, in which the animal is conceptualized primarily as a food source (and for which there is abundant comparative evidence); in the Greek system this includes both commensal and, to some degree, renunciatory (partial or full holocaust) sacrifice. In other types of Greek "sacrifice," the animal is conceptualized primarily as an instrument of purification (as with piglet blood used to sprinkle the perimeter of a sacred area), of divination (pre-battle sacrifice), or is used in sympathetic magic (oath sacrifice). Crossovers are not unusual (e.g. divination in an alimentary sacrifice).

[4] For a summary of methodological issues involved with sacrificial bones, see Ekroth (2009:134–6).

Telemachos' visit to Pylos. Five separately deposited groups of bones, presumably representing separate sacrificial meals, were found to contain the burned femur, humerus, and mandible of cattle, which had clearly been stripped of flesh before burning. The surprise is that two of these groups also included the femur and/or humerus from deer, processed in the same way. Each group of bones was carefully deposited inside the palace. This is the earliest evidence for what we think of as standard Greek sacrifice. We don't know which deity or deities were the recipients of these offerings, though Poseidon is of course a strong possibility, and some scholars think that Artemis' name appears on Linear B tablets from Pylos. The Pylos tablets themselves include at least three mentions of a total of sixteen deer, which Thomas Palaima has interpreted as evidence for monitoring of deer preserves by the palace administration.[5]

Deer also figure in the Mycenaean strata from the sanctuary of Apollo at Kalapodi near ancient Hyampolis. This sanctuary is well known for its nearly continuous history of activity from the Late Bronze Age through the Hellenistic period, and it features the most substantial find of deer bones at any Greek sanctuary.[6] The majority of the bones belonged to the period immediately after the sanctuary was founded at the end of the Mycenaean era (1150–1050 BCE), when 443 red deer bones represented 6.8 percent of the total mammal bones. Small but significant numbers of red deer bones persisted in the record at each succeeding period. From 1050 to 900, the 65 red deer bones made up 9.0 percent of the total mammal bones; this was the high point for the use of deer. The less common fallow deer also appears in the assemblage, as do small numbers of bones from other wild species including roe deer, wild pig, bear, fox, and hare. One way to interpret the finds from Kalapodi, especially given the scattering of other wild animal remains, is as hunting trophies. Yet according to Stanzel's faunal report, the evidence shows that the deer were processed in much the same way as the domesticated animals. In both cases many of the bones were partially burned, and the bones of both the deer and the domesticated victims were found in the same areas.[7] Felsch notes that the sacrum and tail are missing from the bone assemblage for both the domestic animals and

[5] Pylos fauna: Isaakidou et al. (2002:88; Stocker and Davis (2004:182–3). Artemis in Pylos tablets: PY Es 650.5; Un 219.5. Deer preserves: Palaima (1992:72–3); cf. Halstead (1998–9: 185–6). Halstead observes that the only wild animals mentioned in the Linear B texts are deer, whereas the faunal assemblages from contemporary sites reveal a variety of wild species. The appearance of deer in the texts indicates a special interest in the supply of these animals for consumption.

[6] Felsch (1999:166–9). Cf. Bammer, Brein, and Wolff (1978:132–8); Morgan (2003:118).

[7] Stanzel (1991:157).

the deer, presumably because they were burned on the altar according to a common Greek sacrificial practice.[8] In this district, Artemis was known as Elaphebolos, the Deer Shooter, and her festival was the Elaphebolia. Her title is well attested in Greek poetry and cult inscriptions, and gave rise to the month Elaphebolion, when, according to the lexicographers, they used to offer a hind (*ethuonto*) to Artemis Deer Shooter.[9] Athenaeus says that cakes called *elaphoi* were offered in this month, presumably as a substitute for real deer.[10] Taken together with the bone evidence from Kalapodi, the testimonia suggest a goddess much concerned with hunting, for whom sacrificial offerings of deer were considered appropriate on special occasions.[11]

Deer bones and antlers have been found at a number of other Greek sanctuaries, but they are not substantial enough to demonstrate a sacrificial practice rather than the deposition of an occasional trophy.[12] One important exception is the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesos, where nearly one hundred bones from fallow deer and red deer were found in layers dating from the eighth to sixth centuries; it is not clear whether they were burned, but some were found near the altar in the same areas as the bones of domesticated animals. As at Kalapodi, small numbers of other wild animals such as bear and wild pig were present.[13] And here too, the deer were of special importance as an attribute of the goddess. The stag was depicted on Ephesian coins and stags were shown flanking the famous cult statue.

If some sanctuaries of Artemis practiced regular deer sacrifice, maintenance of deer on inviolate sanctuary lands would have ensured a ready supply, as in the scenario described by Arrian for a sanctuary in the Persian

[8] Van Straten (1988:57); Felsch (2001:196–7).

[9] Poetry: *Hom. Hymn*. 27.2; Anacreon fr 348 Campbell; Soph. *Trach*. l. 214. Inscriptions: *IGRR* 3.780 = PHI Greek Inscriptions 275897 (Attalia in Pamphylia), *CIG* 2675b = PHI Greek Inscriptions 258856 (Iasos), *SEG* 43.399A = PHI Greek Inscriptions 153333 (Macedonia). Lexicographers: *Anecd. Bekk*. 1.249.7–9; *Etym. Magn*. s.v. Elaphebolion. Cf. Ath. 8.334e (Apollonia in Chalkidike), Paus. 6.22.8–11 (Elis), Plut. *De mul. vir*. 244b–e (Hyampolis), Brein (1969:42).

[10] Ath. 14.646e; compare *Anth. Pal*. 6.40, in which two oxen of dough are dedicated in place of real animals.

[11] Ekroth (2007:263).

[12] For bones, antlers, and images of deer in sanctuaries, see Bevan (1986: vol. 1.100–14; vol. 11.389–93). For bibliography on faunal material in sanctuaries, see Payne (1985) and Reese (1994), (2005). A substantial number of deer bones were found in the Demeter sanctuary–Hero shrine at Messene. Whether from domesticated or wild animals, none of the bones there showed signs of burning: Nobis (1997:100–2).

[13] Bammer, Brein, and Wolff (1978:108); Forstenpointner, Krachler, and Schilorfer (1999:231). At the Hera sanctuary on Samos, a few roe deer bones were found mingled with the remains of domesticated sacrificial victims: Boessneck and von den Driesch (1988:41). Roe deer also appear in the sanctuary of Aphrodite–Astarte at Tamassos (Nobis 1976–7:30) and red deer around the altar of Asklepios in Messene (Nobis 1994:298–303). Cf. Ekroth (2007:256–63).

Gulf, on an island at the mouth of the Euphrates river. Here hunting was proscribed except for the purpose of sacrifice to the local goddess. When Alexander and his men encountered this island, they named it Ikaros in honor of a Greek island near Samos, which contained a shrine of Artemis Tauropolos.[14] Presumably they did this because the Greek sanctuary had some similar, well-known regulation forbidding hunting. Indeed, according to the Sabbaitic manuscript of Apollodorus, Agamemnon offended Artemis by killing a deer in a place called Ikarios, and was forced to offer his daughter in sacrifice as a result.[15] This account implies that the deer was under the special protection of the goddess. There is some additional evidence indicating that Artemis and the other gods of the hunt were concerned with the protection of game animals as well as their destruction. We think immediately of Aeschylus' lines (*Ag*. 134–8, 140–3) describing Artemis' love for the suckling young of wild creatures and the anger of the goddess at the killing of a pregnant hare. Another early myth concerns the hind with golden antlers that Herakles captured as one of his labors but was forbidden to kill because it belonged to Artemis.[16] Several sanctuaries of Artemis, Apollo, or Pan are described in the sources as refuges for hunted animals, or perhaps fancifully, as places where wild beasts wandered about tame and in harmony with one another.[17]

Still, the evidence for herds of deer attached to Greek sanctuaries is limited. A sacred law from Hellenistic Morgantina lists animals to be raised in a sanctuary, including deer, quail, rock doves, and turtle doves; another inscription from Kyme forbids the hunting of deer – probably animals confined in a sanctuary.[18] On the other hand, Ulrich Sinn has suggested that the sacred herds of Artemis at Lousoi, mentioned by Polybius (4.18.10:

[14] Arr. *Anab*. 7.20.3–4, Paton (1892). Cf. Ael. *NA* 11.9; Strabo 16.3.2 (766); Dionys. Per. 610. For Aegean Ikaros/Ikaria, see Strabo 14.1.19 (639).

[15] Apollod. *Epit*. 3.21–2 (in the Sabbaitic text Agamemnon comments that not even Artemis could have saved the deer; in the Vatican text he says 'not even Artemis' [could have shot better]). Other versions: Davies (1988: Cypria 55–7) (Agamemnon having shot a deer said that he outshot even Artemis), Soph. *El*. 569 (sporting in the goddess' grove Agamemnon shot a deer and 'chanced to say a word'); Hyg. *Fab*. 98 (he spoke proudly against Diana after killing *cervam eius*), Schol. Hom. *Il*. 108a (Agamemnon killed the sacred goat raised in her grove), Tzetz. *Lyc*. 183 (Menelaus and Agamemnon wounded a deer and bragged 'not even Artemis'). See Bremmer (2002:25–6).

[16] Cf. Xen. *Cyn*. 5.14: hunters let newborn hares go "for the goddess." Hind with golden antlers sacred to Artemis: Pind. *Ol*. 3.28–30 with schol., Apollod. *Bibl*. 2.5.3.

[17] Theoc. *Id*. 2.66 (grove of Artemis); Strabo 5.215 (Artemis Aitolis), 14.643 (island near Kolophon); Philost. *Imag*. 1.28.6 (Artemis Agrotera); Paus. 8.38.6 (Zeus on Lykaion); Ael. *NA* 11. 6 (Pan in Arkadia), 7 (Apollo at Kourion), 9 (Artemis on Ikaros). See Brein (1969:29–30).

[18] Engelmann (1976: no. 35) (Kyme); Manganaro (1999:57–60) (Morgantina). See Bremmer (2002: 42–3).

thremmata tês theou) and sometimes assumed to be deer, were actually the livestock of the local inhabitants, which they had driven into the sanctuary in order to gain asylum.[19] Sacred herds both mythic and historical were common enough, but they were typically composed of domesticated animals belonging to the deity and pastured on the deity's lands. One clear example of a Greek game park set aside for a deity is the sanctuary of Artemis Ephesia founded by Xenophon in Skillous (Xen. *An.* 5.3.9,13). Here deer and other wild animals were culled by hunting on the goddess' lands during the annual festival and constituted part of the tithe of all the goods of the land that was due each year. Because Xenophon's cult was closely modeled on that of Artemis at Ephesos, it is possible that Ephesos had a similar tradition, which would help to account for the deer bones found there. In the Xenophon passage the hunt has its place in the broader ritual context, but a clear verbal distinction is made between domesticated animals that are sacrificed, *thuomenoi*, and wild animals that are hunted, *thêreuomenoi*. On the other hand, it is probable that parts from the hunted animals were burned as offerings along with the other fruits of the land. Offerings of both domesticated animals and game are envisioned as elements of *thusia* because both form a part of the local alimentary system. We see the same concept of tithing in the famous ritual for Artemis Laphria at Patrai, where a variety of live game animals and other fruits of the land were immolated in a bonfire and described by Pausanias (7.18.11) as "a local type of sacrifice" (*tropos epichôrios thusias*). [20]

The motifs of deer mastery and sacrifice appear to have a distinctive connection to the cult of Artemis. In the Euripidean version of Iphigeneia's sacrifice, a deer rather than a domesticated animal is substituted for the human victim (*IA* 1555–1600). The image of Artemis subduing a deer with a javelin is common in fourth-century art, and she sometimes appears to bring deer to an altar as if they are destined for slaughter.[21] These mythic expressions indicate a blurring of the conceptual line between hunt, sacrifice, and violent bloodshed that is integral to Artemis' divine persona and cult, but they cannot confirm a historical practice of deer sacrifice.

At least two Classical votive reliefs provide direct evidence of deer sacrifice that appears comparable to the normative sacrifice of domesticated animals. One, of fourth-century date, comes from a sanctuary of Artemis on Mt. Kynthos at Delos (fig. 2.1), and was found with similar reliefs

[19] Sinn (1992:186–7).
[20] On the relationship between Xenophon's Artemis and Artemis of Ephesos, see L'Allier (1998:7–12).
[21] See the list of examples and discussion in Lamar (1990:38).

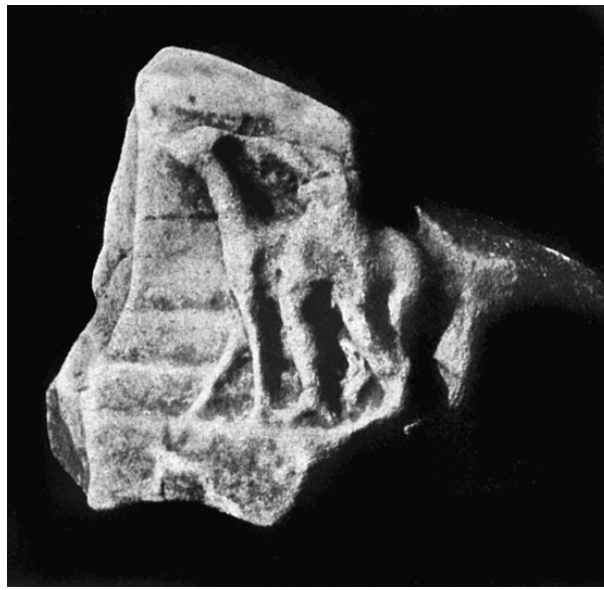


Fig. 2.1. Votive relief from the sanctuary of Artemis on Mt Kynthos on Delos depicting a cervid being led to the altar. Photo: École française d'Athènes.

commemorating the sacrifice of domesticated stock. It illustrates a deer being led to the altar by an attendant. Another relief from late fifth-century Aegina shows worshipers bringing a stag and a goose to the altar, while an unidentified goddess holding two torches stands by.[22] Given the flight instinct of deer, this type of sacrifice could not work unless the individual victim was tamed for the purpose. Aristotle knew of tamed deer, and drew on reports of their breeding habits for his work on viviparous mammals. There are numerous testimonies of tame deer in game parks and sanctuaries from the Roman period, including Pausanias' description of deer used as draft animals for the chariot of Artemis Laphria's priestess at Patrai.[23]

[22] Wide (1901): plate 6 (Aegina); see A. Villing's contribution to this volume, Chapter 3, fig. 3.4. Plassart (1928:302) fig. 253 (Delos).

[23] Arist. *Hist. an*. 5.2 (540a). Tame deer: Pliny *HN* 8.78.211; Paus. 7.18.7. Game parks: Varro *Rust*. 3.12. 1–2; see Starr (1992:436). The sacrifice of wild animals appears to have been rare among the early Romans, although various examples are attested in provincial and indigenous contexts. See Schörner (2005:99–104); (2008:354–60). A votive relief of Roman date showing the sacrifice of a deer before a group of three goddesses is attested from Brindisi in Apulia (Marzano (1961:29–30 and plate 33)). Cf. Kastriotes (1903:38–40 and plate 8), but in this case the deer appears to be an attribute of the goddess.

In other parts of the Mediterranean world, it appears that deer were often classed as sacrificial animals. One of the richest sites for deer sacrifice was discovered during recent excavations in Western Sicily at the indigenous sanctuary of Monte Polizzo. During the sixth century, deer were regularly dismembered here and some heads and feet were burned on an altar in Zone A; most other parts were taken away to be eaten elsewhere. The percentage of deer bones rises as high as 84.4 percent of the total mammal bones at Zone B of the site, a number that far surpasses any Greek sanctuary.[24] It appears that in this sanctuary, thought to be devoted to an indigenous goddess who was later identified with Artemis, deer were actually the primary sacrificial animal, though substantial remains of cattle, sheep or goats, and pigs were also present. Because the area around the sanctuary was not heavily wooded in antiquity, Ian Morris et al. suggest that deer were hunted in the nearby mountains and carried back whole to the sanctuary.[25] One wonders, however, whether it was practical to carry whole carcasses for miles. Adult red deer vary greatly in weight according to seasonal and geographic factors, but they are conspecific with the North American elk and under optimum conditions, stags can reach 600 lbs. Furthermore, the majority of deer remains at Monte Polizzo were antlers, and therefore the deposits primarily come from males (67% head/antler, 10% feet, 16% axial, 7% limbs). I think it more likely that the deer were field dressed and crucial cuts transported to the sanctuary inside the skin, which retained the head and feet. Thus Monte Polizzo may represent something of a hybrid between normative alimentary sacrifice and the hunting ritual in which the skin or antlered head of the animal is presented to the deity.

The case of Monte Polizzo points to a key question: how exactly does one go about sacrificing a wild animal? Modern studies of Greek sacrifice, like that of Folkert van Straten, separate the sacrificial ritual into pre-kill, kill, and post-kill elements that form a recognizable, temporally unified sequence and seem inconsistent with a hunt.[26] If the moment of the kill and the processing of the carcass are temporally separated, can we still speak of sacrifice? Sacrificial ritual in such a case would necessarily differ. For example, postmortem physiological changes over the period of time needed to transport a carcass to a sanctuary would make it impossible to douse the altar with blood, as was often done among the Greeks.

On the other hand, one can argue that sacrifice consists not in the ritual details of slaughter itself, but in the existence of an alimentary system that is

[24] Morris et al. (2002:92). [25] Morris et al. (2002:59). [26] Van Straten (1988:55).

embedded in local religious belief and practice. Such a system encompasses the husbandry and/or selection of animals, their slaughter, the setting aside of some part of their bodies for the deity, and the disposal of the rest through some combination of human commensality and deposition in a sacred place. In different cultures, we find that different parts of this sequence receive more emphasis and ritual elaboration. Among the Greeks, there appears to be greater emphasis on the moments leading up to the kill, but in Mesopotamian systems, for example, more attention is paid to the presentation of a ritual meal to the gods, while the kill seems far less significant.[27] Systems in which the primary emphasis is placed on feeding the gods will accommodate the sacrifice of a wild animal more easily than those in which heavier emphasis is laid on the shedding and ritual manipulation of blood. For example, a scene on a Phoenician bowl found in the Bernardini tomb shows a Near Eastern or Egyptian noble hunting a stag, hanging the carcass in a tree, and burning part of the stag on an altar. This sequence, which is unhesitatingly described as a sacrifice by scholars, lacks the ritualized kill at the altar which we often consider the *sine qua non* of sacrifice.[28] To press the point even further, a Hittite stag rhyton produced for ritual use includes a relief scene of libation to two deities concerned with hunting. Behind the three men is a sacred tree beneath which they have deposited either a freshly killed deer, or more likely, the head, feet, and skin. It is unclear what ritual use, if any, is to be made of the meat. Considering that the rhyton probably shows the outcome of a ritualized hunt undertaken for the very purpose of making this offering, should we categorize it as a votive gift like the skin and antlers dedicated in the epigrams of the Palatine Anthology, or as a form of sacrifice?[29]

Other examples make it clear that in Anatolia, the Near East, and even Egypt, wild cervids and antelopes were kept in sacred parks like that described by Arrian, and that their sacrifice, if never commonplace, was frequent enough to call for an explanation. Volkert Haas says that wild animals were rarely used as sacrificial victims in Hittite religion, but he gives one example of the sacrifice of a deer and goat to the Heptad of gods at Harranassa, and records two enclosures of sacred deer attached to cult centers.[30] Mesopotamia

[27] On Hittite sacrifices in particular, see Mouton in this volume, pp. 239–52 (Chapter 10).

[28] Hopkins (1965:24); Markoe (1985: E2, p. 191, 67) (the same sequence is depicted on a bowl from Kourion: Cy7, p. 177); Osborne (1998:32–5).

[29] Muscarella (1974: no. 123); Alp (1988). For ritualized deer hunts in Hittite religion, see Crepon (1981: 147–9); Archi (1988) (offering of skins at the KI.LAM hunting festival for the god Inar/KAL).

[30] Haas (1994:587 and n. 316) (deer enclosure at temple in Arinna); 818 (enclosure for the mountain god Piskurunuwa); 820 (Heptad).

offers the richest evidence of deer sacrifice, both textual and iconographic. For example, a deer enclosure attached to a Sumerian temple is attested as early as Gudea's time in the third millennium; while an Old Syrian seal (2000–1200 BCE) shows a triple offering of deer, gazelle, and hare to a seated divinity.[31] The prismatic inscription of Tiglath Pileser I (from the eleventh century), refers to herds of deer and antelope in the possession of the king. The young of these animals were offered to the god Assur.[32] With regard to west Semitic peoples, the osteological evidence from the Early Iron Age shrine at Mt. Ebal in Samaria includes burnt fallow deer antlers along with the remains of goats, sheep, and cattle. The Punic inscription known as the Marseilles tariff, dating to the third century BCE, includes deer in its prescribed sacrifices to Baal, along with sheep or goats, cattle, and pigeons.[33]

Current theories of sacrifice have no power to explain why the sacrifice of deer and certain other wild ungulates keeps recurring in the record, and why the evidence for deer is far more common than for any other wild animal. Are these cases then anomalies, derivative of the sacrifice of domesticates, and developed in order to cater to the special needs of deities connected with wild nature? Or could it be instead that the sacrifice of domesticated animals was the logical extension of a pre-existing, much older practice, the ritualized harvest of game animals? Now that I have presented the evidence, I'll explore its implications in a more speculative manner.

Deer played a surprisingly significant role in Eurasian economies before the Neolithic period. Prehistoric hunter-gatherers showed a strong tendency to specialize in one or two prey species, most often focusing on deer and pig. Archaeologists agree that the red deer, *cervus elaphus*, served as the primary source of meat for Upper Paleolithic and Mesolithic hunters throughout Europe, while fallow deer and gazelles played a similar role in Anatolia and the Near East.[34] During the Upper Paleolithic, humans began to hunt red deer and reindeer cooperatively, using techniques of corralling and driving to

[31] Black et al. (1998–2006: Gudea Cylinder A and B 1035–1040; Osten Sacken (1994:235–6 (seal), 241 n. 47) (Gudea). For the raising of deer and gazelles in Mari, see Sasson (2004:207).

[32] Grayson (1972–6 vol. II:16–17): "In addition I got control of (and) formed herds of nayalu-deer, ayalu-deer, gazelles, (and) ibex which the gods Ashur and Ninurta, the gods who love me, had given me in the course of the hunt in high mountain ranges. I numbered them like flocks of sheep. I sacrificed yearly to the god Ashur, my lord, the young born to them as voluntary offerings together with my pure sacrifices."

[33] Mt. Ebal: Zertal (1986–7); L. K. Horwitz (1986–7); Houston (1993:148–56.). Marseilles tariff: Lupu (2005: Appendix A 391–6).

[34] For gazelles, see Garrard (1984).

achieve mass kills.[35] The Magdalenian (12,000 BCE) site of El Juyo in Cantabria, where deer exploitation was particularly intense, offers a unique perspective on the interplay between red deer harvests and emergent ritual activity. Here, inside a cave, the people created a complex structure of mounds, pits, and slabs in which deer played an important symbolic role. The main pit was layered with red and roe deer body parts, red pigment, sand, and burnt fill material containing additional bones. Near the center of this pit, an antler tine was stuck vertically into the red pigment. Before the whole was covered in a casing of clay plaster, long bones, and stone slabs, a cache of bone spearpoints was added. A large rock was modified to suggest a face, which the excavators rather fancifully interpreted as half human and half feline, and was set up facing the cave entrance and the ritual structure. El Juyo is a complex site, but this brief description is sufficient to suggest that ritual activity was closely related to hunting and that body parts from deer may have been used as offerings to a deity.[36]

There is no such dramatic cultural evidence from the Mesolithic period (10,000–5,000 BCE), but the prominence of red deer in the diet continued and increased as the postglacial climate warmed and forests spread. Red deer bones are found in more than 95 percent of European habitation sites of the Mesolithic and antlers continued to be a highly valued material for tools – unequaled in their usefulness until the advent of bronze. The next most common prey was wild pig, in about 84 percent of sites, but in those cases where the percentage of remains was calculated, the amount of red deer bones was about double that of pig bones. The available faunal evidence for kill patterns, though sparse, no longer indicates the use of mass kill techniques. Instead, two of the better-studied sites reveal a bias toward males and immature animals, which could indicate selective hunting intended to maintain herd numbers.[37] With the advent of the Neolithic period, the proportion of deer bones gradually fell as people replaced deer meat with that of domesticated animals, though deer remained a staple in some areas until much later.

Why were deer not permanently domesticated in spite of their long history of contact with human societies? Unlike caprids and bovids, deer

[35] On mass kills of deer in the Paleolithic as an unsustainable practice, see Mithen (1988). While this form of hunting seems crude, the use of barriers and corralling may have been an important step in the direction of pastoralism: see the remarks of Thomas F. Kehoe in White et al. (1989:622).

[36] Freeman and Echegaray (1981); Freeman, Klein, and González Echegaray (1983). For background on the cave of El Juyo see Barandiaran, Freeman, González Echegaray, and Klein (1985). On mass harvesting of deer at El Juyo, see Pokines (1998:152, 154–7).

[37] Starr Carr in Britain and Seeberg Bürgaschisee–Süd in Switzerland. See Jarman (1972:131–5). Similar cropping patterns in the Neolithic and Bronze Age of subalpine Italy: Jarman (1977:526, 535).

lack the strong dominance hierarchy that eases domestication, their breeding habits make them difficult to control, and they flee when startled rather than grouping together for protection. On the other hand, individual deer are easily tamed through an ad hoc process quite distinct from true domestication. Deer herds adapt well to confinement in game parks and can easily be habituated to the proximity of humans.[38] If full domestication of deer were practical, it would have been achieved over the tens of millennia of close contact between deer, especially red deer, and European populations, during which humans were dependent upon deer for the majority of the meat they consumed. In the absence of domestication, however, it is clear that humans and deer evolved an intimate ecological relationship that ultimately allowed both groups to thrive. Jarman and like-minded archaeozoologists speak of a spectrum of animal exploitation strategies that begins with random hunting and extends through selective culling, herd-following, loose free range (or extensive) herding, close (or intensive) herding and, finally, factory farming.[39] Furthermore, they argue, domestication had a lengthy prehistory in the long-term association between human populations and their prey animals. Claims of osteological evidence for such pre-domestication of deer, sheep, and cattle have been controversial, but there is also general agreement that extensive herding practices could be nearly archaeologically invisible.[40] It is quite possible that prehistoric humans attempted to domesticate deer and repeatedly failed to do so, except in the marginal case of reindeer, or that they formed a relationship with deer that comfortably fits neither our current understanding of domestication, nor that of hunting.[41]

With respect to Mediterranean cultures, deer continued to play an important role in some regions even after the Neolithic transition to sedentism and agriculture, and there were attempts to manage deer populations for human benefit. During the Early Neolithic, farmers from Anatolia transported fallow deer to Cyprus and other Aegean islands along with some of the first domesticated cattle, goats, and sheep.[42] The deer were introduced either as desirable game or as pre-domesticated

[38] Clutton Brock (1999).

[39] For extensive herding in the Balearic islands as a model for prehistoric husbandry, see Lewthwaite (1984).

[40] The only significant distinction between pre-pastoral hunting and so-called "extensive herding" may be a social one: there is collective access to "hunted" populations, while "herded" populations are designated as someone's property: Ingold (1984:4). For the concept of "protection" as an intermediate state between predation and domestication, see Harris (1996:448–9).

[41] Wilkinson (1972); Jarman, Bailey, and Jarman (1982:58–66).

[42] Masseti (2003:54). For Cyprus, see Croft (2003:57); Simmons (2007:229–63, esp. 250).

herds, and their economic importance continued for millennia afterwards in Cyprus. Likewise, anomalous patterns of fallow deer populations in Greek Macedonia during the Neolithic and Bronze Ages led Hubbard to suggest that they were managed in ranches or parks.[43] If we imagine what the religious implications of the much heavier human dependence on deer meat might have been during the Upper Paleolithic and Mesolithic, it seems plausible that rules governing the hunt were embedded in religion. At least in some areas where deer populations were vulnerable to overexploitation, the need to manage game could have resulted in taboos on the killing of certain deer, such as pregnant females, the institution of sacred areas where hunting was prohibited, and the ritualization of meat distribution, including portions of the kill set aside for deities. These features are consistent with belief in a Master or Mistress of Animals who both supplies game animals and exacts punishment for killing animals in the wrong place or time. If Artemis inherited aspects of her personality from such a deity, this history could illuminate not only her strong mythic and iconographic ties to deer, but also such phenomena as tame deer kept in sanctuaries, sanctuaries that served as wildlife refuges, and the sacrifice of deer to the goddess.[44]

The offering of deer to Artemis seems to be closely related to her function as a goddess of hunting. Thus deer sacrifice leads us in the direction taken by Walter Burkert, who sought the origins of sacrifice in Paleolithic hunting rituals.[45] Whereas Burkert focused primarily on the role of sacrifice in channeling aggression, I suggest that one possible basis for Eurasian sacrifice, understood as an alimentary system with ritualized strictures on how and when animals are killed and processed for food, can be located in the long human dependence on deer during prehistory and the need to regulate the supply and distribution of meat, a food whose symbolic importance and prestige parallel its high nutritional value.

Jonathan Z. Smith's views imply that there was no prehistory to sacrifice; it was an innovation developed during the Neolithic period as a result of domestication. It is true that the vast majority of animals sacrificed in the historical period were domesticated, and domestication is obviously a prerequisite of sacrifice in its developed civic form, if only because it

[43] Hubbard (1995). On the relationship between deer management and the appropriation of hunting to elites, see Vigne (1993).

[44] Bailey et al. (1983:77) are skeptical about the ability of Paleolithic humans to cause overkill, based on data from Epirus. The human–deer relationship would have varied depending on population density and other local conditions.

[45] Burkert (1983:16).

requires a large, readily available supply of animals. As it brought humans into a new intimacy with their food animals, domestication surely added to and radically modified the cultural meanings of sacrifice. Yet human innovation almost always grows from a substrate, a previous way of doing things, and Mesolithic peoples may well have developed sacrificial systems according to the definition I have provided. If they did so, the deer, as the staple animal in the human food supply, must have been at the center of any such activity, and would have supplied a model for the subsequent development of sacrificial systems around true domesticates. In historical times when the economic importance of deer was vastly reduced, they became marginal within most systems, though there is evidence that the high prestige value of hunting led to the retention of hunting rituals among elites, especially in the Bronze Age and in areas where kingship lingered as an institution.

I must re-emphasize that these musings are highly speculative and difficult (though not impossible) to either support or falsify empirically. Since that is the case, what does this theory have to offer for the study of Greek sacrifice in the historical period, beyond a minor extension to the checklist of sacrificial animals and a challenge to the rigidity of the structuralist formulation? For me, it suggests that we need to combine the structuralist emphasis on alimentary codes with a focus on the economic aspects of sacrifice and the ways in which religious practices may have supported or subverted the principles of sound animal husbandry. In his important article on sacrifice and animal husbandry in Classical Greece, Michael Jameson shows that the sacrifices in the Attic deme calendars correlate with the seasonal availability of victims and the need of farmers to maintain or increase their herds through selective culling.[46] We are used to the idea that the species, number, color, age, and sex of sacrificial victims are dictated wholly by the deity and the nature of the local cult, but the reverse must also be the case: the realities of animal husbandry must be driving sacrificial systems, including festival calendars, to a much greater extent than we have acknowledged. The sacralization of meat consumption is closely related to the status of meat as a highly valued and limited resource, and may function in part to regulate the use of that resource, with respect to harvesting as well as distribution. The idea that sacrificial practices are closely related to local economies or ecosystems and contribute to their self-regulation is not new, but was proposed by Roy Rappaport in his famous study of the Maring people of New Guinea, *Pigs*

[46] Jameson (1988a:103).

for the Ancestors.[47] I should add that I am not advocating pure economic functionalism, for the belief systems surrounding sacrifice often interfere with the maximization of efficiency in food production. The occasional sacrifice of pregnant animals is a case in point, as is holocaust sacrifice.[48]

Walter Burkert's influential reading of sacrifice placed a great deal of emphasis on the ritual surrounding the moment of slaughter: the procession to the altar, the comedy of innocence, and so on. The work of Vernant and Detienne broadened our perspective to include the butchering and cooking stages, and to show how sacrificial commensality intersects with gender and socio-political status. Archaeologists and faunal specialists tell us that there is substantial variation in the way the products of sacrificial rites are processed and deposited, an aspect of sacrificial systems that calls for further study. I have just argued that we also need to turn our attention to the pre-kill stages and the factors surrounding the husbandry and selection of sacrificial animals. Our best path to understanding sacrifice lies in approaching it not as a discrete event but as a system, one that was fully integrated with the animal husbandry practices of the Greeks.

[47] Rappaport (1984:224–42). We still have much to learn about the evolution of self-regulating systems in cultural contexts; they seem to be subject to both Darwinian and non-Darwinian modes of change.

[48] The sacrifice of pregnant animals is secondary to agriculture, because most such sacrifices are offered to Ge or Demeter. See van Straten (1995:26, note 41).

CHAPTER 3

Don't Kill the Goose that Lays the Golden Egg? Some Thoughts on Bird Sacrifices in Ancient Greece

Alexandra Villing

Introduction

Sokrates' famous last words, 'Krito, I owe a cock to Asklepios; will you remember to pay the debt?', as reported in Plato's *Phaidon* (117e–18a), have long occupied scholars trying to understand the reason for the 'debt', but the choice of sacrificial animal has equally surprised. Cattle, sheep, goats and pigs are well known as the main animals offered in Greek sacrificial rites – but why a bird? Sokrates' rooster, however, is not altogether unique. Other famous figures of antiquity, too, sacrificed birds: when in the second century AD Aelius Aristeides in search of a cure for his ailments comes to Smyrna and visits the warm baths, the goddess Isis herself intervenes and orders him to sacrifice two geese to her (*Sacred Tales* 3.45).

What do we know about birds as sacrificial animals? A hundred years ago, Stengel in his 1910 publication[1] on the sacrificial customs of the Greeks devoted a fair number of pages to the discussion of birds, game and fish as sacrificial animals, but the modern scholarly discourse of ancient Greek sacrifice rarely mentions, let alone engages with, sacrificial animals beyond the 'traditional' quartet of domesticated cloven-hoofed mammals.[2] This is

* I am grateful to the editors for the invitation to contribute to this volume, and to them and the editorial team of Cambridge University Press for their support throughout the volume's production. The manuscript was largely completed in 2012, and later literature could only be considered to a limited extent.

[1] Stengel (1910); for birds, cf. also the note by Wolff (1869).

[2] Detienne and Vernant briefly address the topic of fish sacrifice (Detienne and Vernant 1989:127–8, 221 n. 8, 266; cf. also *ibid*. 265–6 on deer sacrifice) but do not engage at all with bird sacrifices; Burkert (1985:55) notes that 'the sacrifice of poultry is also common, but other birds – geese, pigeons – to say nothing of fish, are rare', but only occasionally refers in passing to individual instances of such sacrifices; and Parker, too, while counting domestic fowl among the 'big five' of species to be sacrificed Parker (2010c:138), abstains from any further investigation. A full range of sacrificial animals is included in the survey by Kadletz (1976). The only recent studies of bird sacrifices to my knowledge are Stafford (2008), who discusses cock sacrifices to Asklepios, and Zografou (2011), on bird sacrifices especially in magical papyri, and Brun and Leguilloux (2013), with special reference to Delos. For fish sacrifices, see Lefèvre-Novaro (2010); Mylona (2015).

even though not just written sources but also recent osteological evidence[3] confirm that Greek sacrificial customs and feasting were more colourful and wide-ranging.[4] This menagerie on the fringes of 'typical' Greek sacrifice is neglected at peril: it is here that light is shed on areas beyond large-scale civic ritual of the landed *polis*, that the dichotomy of domesticated and wild, 'Greek' and 'foreign', and the relationship between sacrificer, animal and deity can be interrogated from a fresh perspective in a broader social and economic context.

For deer and other animals the balance is redressed elsewhere in the present volume (see the chapters by Larson (Chapter 2) and Ekroth (Chapter 1)); the aim of this contribution is to put birds back into the frame – or rather, onto the altar. Considering the main species of bird sacrificed in Greece, notably the cockerel and goose, I will argue that these birds became incorporated in the sacrificial repertory following their widespread domestication and inclusion into Greek culture and cuisine, a development especially of the fifth century BC that affected different birds in different ways. Nonetheless, birds always remained on the fringes, retaining a special position in both Greek alimentary and religious behaviour. As will become clear, their sacrifice is often linked to certain kinds of dedicants, occasions and divine personalities, a specificity that is far more prominent here than in the bovine-ovicaprine-suine majority of sacrificial animals[5] and that is determined as much by semantic notions relating to an animal's appearance, behaviour and habitat as by the social and economic circumstances of its sacrifice.

A Cock for Asklepios: Heroic Meals on the Cheap?

The starting point for the investigation is two listings of sacrificial animals. The first concerns ancient Athens and has come down to us in several late lexicographers and paroemiographers, including Souidas and Zenobios.[6] In addition to the quartet of ox, sheep, goat and pig, this list enumerates also the chicken (*ornis*)[7] and the goose – and in one version also the duck.

[3] See e.g. Ekroth (2007); cf. also Dalby (2003:114). Minunno (2013:113–14) points to offerings of quails to Herakles-Melqart.

[4] As also highlighted by Georgoudi (2010a), who questions the validity of hitherto prevalent notions of 'typical' sacrifice that do not take sufficient account of the 'poikilia' of Greek sacrificial customs.

[5] Cf. Graf (2002:118–19), who also highlights the semantic significance of factors such as the species, colour and gender of sacrificial animals.

[6] Discussed in detail by Stengel (1910:225–33) and Wolff (1869:189–90); cf. also Olck (1910:711).

[7] The term *ornis* and its interpretation is unfortunately not straightforward: while denoting birds in general, it appears to refer specifically to chickens, notably hens, especially in post-Classical Attic

Lacking a proper context and date, the passage is, of course, problematic as evidence;[8] however, chicken (*ornithes*) are also included in a second, earlier, list of sacrificial animals recorded by Theophrastos (ap. Porph. *Abst.* II 25), where they feature alongside oxen, sheep/goats, pigs and – interestingly – deer.

That birds, and notably chickens and geese, are to be taken seriously as sacrificial animals is supported also by other sources. From these it appears that chickens were the most common among sacrificed birds in ancient Greece, even if they make their appearance as sacrificial animals only relatively late. The sacrifice of cocks to Asklepios – recently surveyed by Emma Stafford – is attested from the late fifth/early fourth centuries BC onwards, in Classical Athens and elsewhere.[9] Most famously, the evidence includes Sokrates' purported last words, mentioned above, in which he instructs Krito to sacrifice a cockerel to Asklepios (Pl. *Phd.* 117e–18a), as well as Herodas' *The Women Sacrificing to Asklepios*, written about 270 BC. Here, women offer a *thysia* of a cock (*alektor*) to Asklepios at Kos as thanks for a cure, the modest choice of animal being explained by the dedicants' slender means.[10] A decree from Epidauros dating to *c.* 400 BC mentions *kalaidia* (a term usually taken to refer to chickens[11]) being offered by the Epidaurians on the altars of Asklepios and Apollo; a first century BC inscription from Kos notes that the priest of Asklepios is owed an obol and a leg from every chicken (*ornis*) sacrificed (Herodas' women, too, give a leg of the cockerel to their priest); a fragmentary fourth century BC sacrificial regulation from Oropos refers to chicken (*ornis*) sacrifices in another healing sanctuary; the Amphiareion, again with an obol to be paid for every bird sacrificed, while the newly found mid second century BC religious inscription from a sanctuary of Artemis Phylake (quite possibly a cult of Near Eastern origin) near Thessalian Larissa prescribes sacrifices of male, female as well as young chicken (*alektor*) for the purposes of purification and on the altar of Moira, with an obol to be paid for every bird and

Greek; the problematic and changing meaning of *ornis* and *alektryon/alektor* is addressed already in Athenaios 9.373a (quoting Myrtilos) and would deserve a thorough re-assessment; cf. also LSJ s.v.; Thompson (1895:20); Cobianchi (1936:92–3); Decourt and Tziaphalias (2015:39).

[8] It certainly is hardly sufficient justification for counting geese among the 'six classic sacrificial animals', as is done by Hünemörder (1998:780): 'Die Gans war eines der sechs klassischen Opfertiere.'

[9] Stafford (2008).

[10] Cf. Kearns (2010:199–204); A. Hermary, in *ThesCRA* I (2004), 76; Edelstein and Edelstein (1945:296 no. T 523–31); cf. also Aelian *HV* 5.17; Stafford (2008:211–12).

[11] Cf. Fraenkel (1913:33–5).

the legs and innards to be left behind on the offering table, and with chicken sacrifices expressly forbidden for the sanctuary's main altar.[12]

Other heroes, gods and goddesses, too, could receive chicken sacrifices: Herakles, together with Thios, received two roosters (*alektoras*) in first-century AD Athens, and in his sanctuary, shared with Hebe, cocks and hens were apparently kept and fed at public expense in the third century BC.[13] Plutarch (*Quaest. conv*. 6.10.1) refers to a cock that has just been sacrificed to Herakles being brought to table at the symposion. Sanctuary fowl yards are also mentioned by Aristotle (*Hist. an*. 9.614a7), who discusses the social behaviour of domestic cocks (cocks only, not hens) presented to temples as offerings. Hermes and Dionysos, too, may have been recipients: an Attic red-figure bell-krater of the early fourth century BC (Fig. 3.1) – to my knowledge the only potential allusion to a cock sacrifice in Attic vase-painting – shows a cock being carried in a procession towards a herm; the procession includes a satyr and is of distinctly Dionysiac character.[14] Chicken sacrifices had been erroneously reconstructed in Hellenistic inscriptions relating to Aphrodite and Adrasteia and Nemesis,[15] though

[12] *IG IV2* 40 and 41 = *LSCG* 60 (cf. Kadletz (1976:82 no. 73); Stafford (2008:219)); Parker and Obbink (2001:237–43) no. 4A, figs. 4–5 (cf. Stafford (2008:212)); Lupu, *NGSL* 9. Edelmann (1999:195 no. B 70) also cites a votive relief of the second half of the fourth century BC in London (British Museum GR 1816,0610.361 (Sculpture 792)) as showing a cock being presented to Asklepios (and Hygieia?) by a male worshipper, but the very worn representation hardly allows a precise identification of the animal. For the inscription found at Marmarini near Larissa, see Decourt and Tziaphalias (2015: 18–19 lines B2–3, 14, 30–1, 54–5, 74–5; cf. also lines B75–7 on chicken or other eggs being prohibited when sacrificing a hen on the altar of Moira). The reference to purificatory bird (*ornis*) sacrifices probably also relates to chicken: *ibid*. lines 22–3 and 25, with the discussion on p. 39.

[13] Cock sacrifice, Athenian calendar of the first century AD: *IG II2* 1367 = *LSCG* 52; cf. Kadletz (1976: 149–59). Cf. also the capon sacrifice to Hercules in a Roman inscription from Aziz Ben Tellis in Algeria: *CIL* VIII, 8247. Chicken in the sanctuary of Herakles and Hebe are mentioned by Aelian *NA* 17.46, citing Mnaseas fr. 11 Müller. Note also that in Roman times chicken appear to have been kept on Delos and castrated to be fattened as capons: cf. Bruneau (1985:547–9); cf. also Dalby (2003:114).

[14] Ferrara, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 8149: A. Hermary, in *ThesCRA* I (2004) 86 no. 198; G. Siebert, in *LIMC* V (1990) 303 Hermes 131bis. The only possible parallel to this piece is doubtful: in a sacrificial scene on a late-sixth-century BC Athenian column-krater (British Museum GR 1837,0609.38 [Vase B362]), Böhr (2015:21) identified a duck underneath the sacrificial table awaiting sacrifice before a herm, but the rendering is unclear and an interpretation as the head of a larger sacrificial animal such as a bull (Gebauer (2002: 298–9 no. Z3, 736 fig. 166) is a more convincing alternative. We may remember in this context also the fourth century BC Boiotian terracotta busts that show a male figure (Dionysos?) holding a cock and egg: e.g. Higgins (1967:79), pl. C; cf. also C. Gasparri, in *LIMC* III (1986) 428–9 Dionysos 56–61. The cockerel being offered to (or held by) Persephone on fifth-century BC Locrian reliefs has been interpreted primarily as symbolic of male sexuality by Sourvinou-Inwood (1978:108–9). For geese in a Dionysiac context, see Schauenburg (2005:53) with n. 669, fig. 132.

[15] *LSCG* no. 172; cf. Kadletz (1976:110–11) with IG 12.3.303; LSCG 161.



Fig. 3.1. Attic red-figure bell krater, early fourth century BC, depicting a Dionysiac procession to a herm. Ferrara, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 8149. Photograph © Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.

birds were sacrificed to Aphrodite Pandemos and Pontia there in the late second century BC.[16] Also an inscription from second century BC Mytilene on Lesbos[17] allows the sacrifice of at least some sorts of bird to Aphrodite and Hermes. According to Plutarch (*Inst. Lacon.* 238 f and *Ages.* 33.4), cocks were also sacrificed by the Spartans to Ares as deliberately low-key victory offerings.[18]

Osteological evidence seems to confirm that chickens were indeed sacrificed and could form part of sacrificial meals in a range of cults: unburnt chicken bones – though mostly only in small or very small numbers – were found in the Theban Kabeirion (Classical, Hellenistic and Roman levels), the sanctuary of Artemis and Apollo at Kalapodi (Hellenistic to Byzantine), the Ephesian Artemision and the sanctuaries of Demeter at Cyrene (Archaic-Hellenistic), Selinus (possibly) as well as Mytilene. In the latter sanctuary, they dominate the finds of Classical to Hellenistic bird bones (making up 5 per cent of the bone assemblage), which also include geese, quail,

[16] *IG* 12.4.319. A Roman inscription from Koudiet Es-Souda (Tunisia) records the sacrifice of a cock to Caelestis and a hen to Venus: Poinssot (1913).
[17] *LSCG* no. 126, cf. also Kadletz (1976:110–11).
[18] Cf. Csapo (1993:10), for the cock's 'martial' connotations and link with Ares.

partridges, pigeons/doves and teal, all unburnt.[19] Judging from the find contexts, chickens must have been consumed as part of feasts in at least some of these sanctuaries; they also appear to have been consumed (or offered) at least on occasion in connection with funeral cults, as is suggested particularly by the find of chicken bones at the Mauseoleum at Halikarnassos and by an inscription probably related to a Lycian tomb mentioning the sacrifice (*thysia*) of cocks and hens.[20]

The evidence thus attests chicken sacrifices from at least 400 BC, often in the shape of private, small-scale and relatively cheap offerings – an impression that is further supported by Aelian (*NA* 5.28), who describes a master of the house sacrificing a cock (*alektryon*) in a *thysia* and making a feast for his household.[21] The main recipients are Asklepios and other male healing deities and/or heroes,[22] but also some female deities (Demeter, Aphrodite). Remarkable also is the nature of the sacrificial rites: in some cases, notably relating to Asklepios, it is made explicit that the sacrifices, though small, are alimentary, with a portion reserved for the priest. They were thus on a par with other animal *thysiai*, even if some elements of the ritual clearly must have been different – for one, no tail could be easily burnt on the altar, but

[19] Thebes, Kalapodi, Ephesos, Cyrene: Reese (2000b:566). Though only few chicken bones were found at Cyrene, there are many bronze figurines of cocks from the sanctuary: Schaus (1985:xxviii). Mytilene: Ruscillo (1993:201–10, esp. 206–7). The osteological evidence for chicken bones in Demeter sanctuaries seems to conflict with Porphyrios (*Abst.* 4.16), who described cocks as sacred to Demeter and therefore not eaten by the initiates at Eleusis; cf. also the prohibition against including domestic fowl in dining at the Haloa, mentioned by a scholiast to Lucian, *Dial. meret.* The osteological finds from Kalapodi and the Kabeirion also include some bones of doves and other birds (Reese 2000b:568–9), though not in all cases do bone finds have to imply that these animals were necessarily eaten by the worshipping community (cf. also Ekroth, Chapter 1 in this volume, on different possible interpretations of the osteological evidence). One may even wonder if chickens might not, on occasion, have been thrown into pits just as small piglets were in the thesmophoric ritual.

[20] Inscription at Bel in Lycia: Ormerod and Robinson (1914:5–7) no. 10. Decapitated hens and cocks, as well as chicken eggs and pigeons, form part of the sacrificial deposit at the entrance to the tomb chamber of the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos (Højlund 1983). Chicken bones and eggs are occasionally found in burials across Greece and Cyprus (Robinson 1942:192–4; Reese 2000b:566–7), certainly from the fifth century BC onwards. Overall, however, chickens do not seem to be any more frequent than other sacrificial animals in tomb cult: osteological evidence suggests that birds, hares, goats, lambs, pigs, cattle and various other species could be sacrificed to the dead, both at normal graves and at hero shrines: Kurtz and Boardman (1971:66). Boehringer (2001:311–18) lists a variety of different animal bones found in connection with hero cults in Messenia, including bovines, sheep, pigs and goats but also horses, dogs, cats, deer, boars, foxes, badgers, hares and birds. A cock (apparently as an offering) is also being carried by the worshippers on the hero relief from Chrysapha: Blümel (1940:22, pl. 22). For a gravestone from Pydna featuring a cock, dated to about 420 BC, see Moreno (2007).

[21] Otherwise chickens (or other birds), however, do not appear to be specifically associated with domestic cults.

[22] Cf. also Plutarch's mention of a white cock being sacrificed by Pyrrhus as a part of a healing ritual: Plut. *Pyrrh.* 3.4. On (white) cocks in magical rituals, see also below, n. 29.

perhaps some feathers or meat were used in its stead, along the lines suggested by Ekroth (in the present volume) for other 'unusual' sacrificial animals. Yet we also know from a group of other sources that *thysiai* were not the only option for chicken sacrifices. Pausanias (2.11.7) reports that birds were burned on the altar as part of the holocaustic sacrifices at Roman Titane near Sikyon, again in connection with the cult of Asklepios.[23] While it has been noted in recent scholarship that the particular penchant for holocaustic sacrifices in Roman Greece does not necessarily have to reflect earlier traditions, epigraphic and osteological evidence confirms that holocaustic sacrifices of poultry took place at least from the second century BC. They feature particularly in cults of heroes and gods (often of foreign origin) connected with death and the underworld – divinities for whom, as Ekroth has argued, high intensity sacrifices were particularly fitting, as commensality with such deities was problematic for humans.[24] For example, as is set out in detail by Siard and by Brun and Legouilloux,[25] holocaustic sacrifices of chickens are attested prominently in the second–first century BC Sarapieion C on Delos, the sanctuary of Sarapis and Isis. Here, up to 90 per cent of the bones from two altars area belong to chickens that were burnt whole, while the remainder are bones of mammals (sheep, pigs and goats) of which only portions had been burnt as part of a regular *thysia*.

Dedications to Isis-Hygieia and Asklepios suggest that the cult in the Delian Sarapieion had a medical element, and Siard in her analysis proposes that the chicken offerings may have been made in thanks for (or in hope of) a cure.[26] Yet it seems that cock (and other bird) sacrifices were also more generally associated with Egyptian cults related to the underworld and afterlife in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. An early second century BC inscription from Priene stipulates that young chickens/birds (*nossōn*) be offered in the cult of Isis, Sarapis and Apis, adding that the priests are to provide an Egyptian who will help perform the sacrifice expertly.[27] Burnt chicken bones are attested in several Roman sanctuaries of Isis.[28] Epigraphic and literary sources, notably in Roman times, refer to

[23] In addition to the holocaust of a bull, a lamb and a pig on the ground; on this passage, see Stafford (2008:217–18); Pirenne-Delforge (2008:192–7). Cf. also the cult of Eileithya at Messene, for which Pausanias (4.31.9) reports that 'all kinds of animals were burnt as offerings together. They begin with cattle and goats, and they end up by throwing birds in the fire'; on this passage, cf. Pirenne-Delforge (2008:220–1).

[24] Ekroth (2002:307); Ekroth (2008b:89–92); Pirenne-Delforge (2006; 2008).

[25] Siard (2008); Brun and Leguilloux (2013). [26] Siard (2008). [27] *LSAM* 36.

[28] Brun and Leguilloux (2013:175–6); Lepetz and van Andringa (2008a:47), who also note that bones of cocks are attested in (provincial) Roman sanctuaries of Mithras and Mercury.

cock sacrifices, probably holocaustic, for Nephthys and Osiris as well as for Anubis, to whom a white or yellow cock was sacrificed; in the region of Larissa a Hellenistic religious inscription specifies the sacrifice of white cocks to Men and white hens to Artemis Phylake.[29] In magical papyri the white (but not black) cock is the sacrificial animal of choice, its destruction in an *enagismos* providing the gods with the animal's 'breath of life'.[30] Other birds, too, (including the wren, pigeon and goose) could be sacrificed in the same manner, as well as occasionally wild donkeys or piglets.[31] Occasional instances of chicken sacrifices are attested in connection with tomb cults,[32] and an enigmatic reference – if correctly read – in the fourth century BC Derveni papyrus (col. 2, cf. col. 6) to the possible sacrifice of 'something like an *ornis*' in connection with the Erinyes and funeral libations would not seem out of place in such a context.[33] Roman-period Bacchic sarcophagi and altars that represent cocks being thrown on the blazing altar (Fig. 3.2)[34] as well as sacrifices to Kore and Demeter/Ceres confirm a Dionysiac or 'chthonic' dimension of holocaustic cock-sacrifices and recall the Dionysiac procession mentioned earlier (above, Fig. 3.1),[35]

[29] Nephthys and Osiris: *IG III* 77 = *LSCG* no. 52; quoted and discussed by Stengel (1910:166–7). Anubis: Plut., *De Is.* 60. Men and Artemis Phylake (second century BC): Decourt and Tziaphalias (2015, 19 lines B24–5, cf. also lines B31–2, and the discussion on p. 27). A votive relief of the second half of the fourth century BC to Men features two roosters as the god's attributes: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 1972.78: Edelmann (1999:153, 221 no. G19). In Egypt itself, chickens were consumed particularly at festivals, certainly in Roman times; in the Ptolemaic period, they are less frequently attested, not least presumably on account of them being relative newcomers to the country: Drexhage (2001a); Cobianchi (1936:139–47). Cf. also a white hen as an offering to the Nymphs (Alkiphron, *Letters* 4.13) and a cock to Night (Ovid, *Fasti* 455–6), a custom explained by Ovid as a punishment for the rooster announcing the sunrise. A first-century inscription from Rhodes mentions the sacrifice of bovines, other quadrupeds and a rooster in the adyton of an unspecified sanctuary, although in neither case do we know if the sacrifice was alimentary or an *enagismos: LSS* no. 108. A ritual at Roman Methana involved a white cock being cut in two pieces and carried around the vines before being buried, an action supposedly aimed at protecting vineyards from strong winds (Paus. 2.34.2). On the use of pure, perfect and white birds in 'magical' sacrifices, see also Zografou (2011:150–1).

[30] As set out recently by Zografou (2008:193–5).

[31] Zografou (2008:190); cf. also Zografou (2011:152)

[32] See above n. 20.

[33] Betegh (2004:77–8).

[34] London, British Museum GR 1805,0703.206 (Sculpture 2489); the altar was dedicated to Diana by Aurelius Thimoteus and the reliefs on the other sides revolve around Dionysiac topics.

[35] Stengel (1910:142, 150, 166–8); Matz (1963:44–52); Jucker (1980:468–9). Chicken sacrifices were known also in the Punic world, as a bird sacrifice (alongside deer sacrifice) is mentioned in a third century BC Punic inscription from Carthage, the 'Marseille tariff': Lupu, *NGSL* pp. 391–6; cf. also Larson in this volume (Chapter 2), and the wider discussion of bird sacrifices in the Phoenician and Punic world by Minunno (2013:109–19). Chicken sacrifices at Punic Carthage are also mentioned by Reese (2000b: 567).



Fig. 3.2. Roman marble altar, late second–third century AD, depicting a cockerel sacrifice to a priapic herm. London, British Museum GR 1805,0703.206 (Sculpture 2489). Photograph © Trustees of the British Museum.

while burnt chicken bones in the Roman layers of Poseidon's sanctuary at Isthmia hint at a wider possible circle of recipients.[36]

Zografou[37] has recently argued that the prominent role of birds in magic and apotropaic rites may stem from their role in divination, as messengers of the gods and embodiments of the soul; yet she also follows Cumont by explaining the preferred position of the cock with its Persian-derived association with the sun, apotropaic functions and role as a guide of souls to the underworld.[38] Suggestions of cross-cultural transmission, however, need to be assessed with caution; a link with sunrise would have been rather evident to any Greek with a cockerel in the yard even without explicit reference to Zoroastrian ideas.[39] Still, symbolic connotations undoubtedly played an important role in the choice of chickens for sacrifices. Chickens were latecomers to Greece and are likely to have retained a special meaning on that account, having been known as an

[36] From a Roman ash pit dated after AD 160 (lot 80–33); cf. Reese (2000b:560–70).
[37] Zografou (2008; 2011). [38] Cumont (1942); cf. also Bodson (1978:99–100).
[39] As Csapo reminds us, constructions of meaning are ultimately based on nature even if they transcend it in culturally specific ways: Csapo (1993:123–4). Cf. also Graf (2002:115), on this topic.

exotic animal long before they were introduced as a domesticated species to Greece from their original habitat in Southeast Asia via the Near East. From the seventh/sixth centuries BC they developed into a common Greek barnyard fowl, kept primarily for fighting and, presumably, for eggs.[40] The role they were subsequently accorded in Greek daily life also shaped their function as sacrificial animal. Their reputation for virility, aggression and salaciousness, their use in cock-fights and their popularity as a homoerotic love gift and as supreme symbol of the ancient Athenian *agon* not only associated them with the sphere of the young man's life and with war-like pursuits, but also made them highly appropriate as gifts for male heroes such as Herakles.[41] As newcomers to the Greek farmyard, they were sacrificed most prominently to a newcomer to the Greek pantheon, Asklepios – he, too, a hero-god.

In addition to the semantic realm, practical economic considerations presumably also played a role in cock sacrifices. Small, domestic and cheap, chickens made convenient sacrificial animals for individual offerings.[42] Their use as such in a period – the fifth century BC – when they had become a common domestic fowl and acquired at least a modest place in Greek cuisine,[43] conforms neatly with the notion of sacrifices of domesticated animals as embedded in local cultural, alimentary and economic systems. It is worth noting in this context that also ancient Southeast and

[40] Even though Blench and MacDonald (2000:497) and Nadeau (2016) point to osteological evidence dating back to the third millennium BC, the wider spread of the chicken in Greece must date to much later periods; cf. also Grabow (2015); Lamberton and Rotroff (1985:6–7). Cocks are mentioned in Greek literature since the late seventh/sixth century BC and represented in Greek art since the seventh century BC. Hens' eggshells are attested at eighth century BC Kommos on Crete, though we need to remember that this was in part a Phoenician entrepôt: Reese (2000b:566).

[41] As set out in detail by Csapo (1993); for the erotic connotations of cocks see also recently Spier (2010). By contrast, the reference in Aristophanes' *Birds* 707 to quail, moorhen [*porphyrion*], goose and capon as gifts with which a man might seduce a boy is surely a jibe at the luxurious lifestyle, as most of these birds represent the exact opposite of the virility and fighting spirit that the cock connotes. Zografou cites characteristics such as the cock's aggressive sexuality and also other birds' associations with sexuality and fertility, as well as economic considerations, as playing a role in certain birds' choice as sacrificial animals, but emphasises solar connotations, as well as a fundamental affinity between winged deities and birds, as reasons for bird sacrifices to (solar) Eros: Zografou (2011:158–60).

[42] On the economic value of sacrificial animals and its importance, see e.g. van Straten (1995:170–81). The perception of relative cheapness of bird sacrifices seems to have carried over into Christian times: a twelfth century AD ecclesiastical document of Byzantine Macedonia (quoted by Detienne and Vernant 1989:195) names a pigeon or fowl from the barnyard as appropriate gifts for the priest from those unable to afford an ox.

[43] Cf. e.g. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 6.7: 'for if a man knew that light meats are digestible and wholesome, but did not know which sorts of meat are light, he would not produce health, but the man who knows that chicken is wholesome is more likely to produce health'. On the incorporation of chicken into the Greek diet, see also Wilkins and Hill (2006:12–14, 150–1).

East Asia chickens were not primarily valued for their meat or eggs, but bred for fighting and ritual purposes.[44]

Still, there is no indication that chickens ever developed into a universal every-day personal sacrificial animal; rather, they remained associated with certain cults in particular: *thysiai* in hero and especially healing cults, and, increasingly, high-intensity (holocaustic) sacrifices in Hellenistic and Roman cults of foreign (Egyptian) deities and 'magical' rites. Both strange and familiar, chickens were prone to fulfil special functions in ancient Greek sacrifice.

Aphrodite and Her Birds: Of Doves and Partridges

With their Eastern origin and martial and erotic associations chickens may be a special case in the world of Greek birds, but some of the same patterns also apply to other birds. Here we move into largely uncharted territory – evidence for other bird sacrifices is less prolific than that for chickens, and the few extant scholarly treatments are mostly outdated. The problems this brings with it become apparent already in the first example that I want to consider in this context: bird sacrifices for Aphrodite, and the associated question of sacrificial/sacred/consecrated animals and flocks.

The issue of bird sacrifices for Aphrodite has already been touched upon above, when we noticed inscriptions referring to sacrifices of birds, which were practised on second century BC Kos and Mytilene. A passage by the sixth century AD writer John the Lydian adds two further birds to the equation:[45] goose and partridge (*perdix*), which he claims were sacrificed to Aphrodite, albeit without specifying when and where. He then goes on to explain geese as appropriate sacrificial animals for the sea-goddess Aphrodite because of their liking for water, and partridges because of their alluring voices. The passage thus underlines the notion of a specific relation between 'victim' and deity, based on birds' 'personalities'; we will have occasion to further explore its significance in this respect later.

An association of waterbirds or songbirds with Aphrodite (and in general with the female world) is known also from other contexts, applying especially to doves.[46] In sixth century BC Ionia we find Aphrodite, as well as other goddesses, receiving offerings in the shape of female votive statues

[44] Blench and MacDonald (2000); Stadelmann (2000:500).

[45] Lydus, *Mens.* 4.44, quoted e.g. in Wolff (1869:191).

[46] Cf. Villing (2008) with further references. For Aphrodite's connection with doves, see especially the dove representations in Aphrodite's sanctuaries on the slopes of the Athenian Acropolis and at Daphni in Attica: Rosenzweig (2004: 14 with figs. 2–3, 41 with fig. 30). Cf. also Kadletz (1976:274–5).

and figurines carrying birds (doves and partridges), such as the kore with a partridge perhaps offered to Artemis at Miletos.[47] But do we have to imagine these birds as inviolate *hiera zoa* or sacred 'pets', or as sacrificial animals? Given that the animals carried by Archaic kouroi include cattle, sheep and goats – i.e. typical sacrificial animals – the animals carried by korai (birds and hares) could be sacrificial, too, although hares in particular are typical love gifts and unlikely sacrificial animals. Apart from such general considerations there is, however, little evidence to help us answer the question. Most explicit is an inscription dating to 287/6 BC that records a purificatory dove sacrifice for Aphrodite Pandemos at Athens.[48] Dove (*columba*) sacrifices to Venus are also suggested by the Roman writers Propertius (4.5.65–6) and especially Ovid (*Fasti* 1.451–2),[49] who talks of white doves being burned upon altars at Cypriot Idalion.[50] In some places (such as Aphrodisias and Eryx on Sicily), doves were explicitly designated as sacred to Aphrodite,[51] but we have no evidence as to whether sacrifices were allowed or not. There is, however, an intriguing, partially preserved, Hellenistic inscription from Morgantina relating to a local sanctuary of an unspecified deity that may be of relevance. If the proposed reading is correct, the inscription records that deer, quails, doves, rock doves, as well as perhaps chickens and turtle doves or larks, were raised in the sanctuary; it sets out explicitly that the birds were not allowed to be sacrificed.[52] Sanctuary doves (as well as partridges) are also recorded for another sanctuary on Delos, where inscriptions attest that the sale of both doves and their guano provided an income for the sanctuary. Servius states that doves were inviolate here ('Deli columbas violare nefas est'), but since an inscription of the year 250 BC does refer to a dove sacrifice, this rule may

[47] For the terracotta figurines, see Higgins (1967:35); Klinger (2015). The kore from Miletos is Berlin, Antikensammlung SMB Inv. Sk. 1577. On partridges, see also Kauffmann-Samaras (2003).

[48] *IG II2* 659 = *LSCG* 39; cf. Kadletz (1976:110–11); Rosenzweig (2004:16, 62).

[49] On this passage, see Prescendi (2007:209).

[50] Note in this context also the observation by Reese (2000b:567) of burned dove bones in the Western necropolis of Amathous on Cyprus, identified as a possible tophet site; bird bones in tophets are also noted by Minunno (2013:109–19).

[51] *LSAM* 86 (77 AD); Ael. *HV* I.15 and *NA* 4.2; Athen. 394f; cf. also Pollard (1977:146); Bodson (1978:99). Coins of the city show the goddess seated with a dove from the late fifth century BC onwards.

[52] Manganaro (1999:57–60); cf. also Larson, this volume (Chapter 2). The only animal that is mentioned in a possible sacrificial context in the inscription is a ram. Quails are, however, explicitly listed among birds that can be offered in individual holocaustic sacrifices in an Artemis sanctuary (with strong non-Greek elements) near Larissa: Decourt and Tziaphalias (2015, p. 20, lines B70–74).

not have applied at all times. The sacred calendar from the area of Larissa, finally, expressly forbids the sacrifice of fish and doves to Pan.[53]

That the complex relationship between animal and deity could in principle encompass protection and killing at the same time is argued elsewhere in the present volume with regard to deer. As Jennifer Larson sets out, sacred deer herds[54] were subject both to Artemis' protection and to (sacrificial) destruction, and a similar scenario may apply to 'sacred shoals' of fish such as those of Atargatis.[55] Also the above-mentioned chickens (cocks and hens) kept in third century BC sanctuaries of Herakles and Hebe, and perhaps in other sanctuaries, might conceivably have served as sacrificial animals.[56] Perhaps also the late fourth century BC guinea fowl of Parthenos on Leros[57] fall into the same category – guinea fowl (common in Egypt but a latecomer to Greece) are mentioned by Pausanias among the birds sacrificed to Isis at Tithorea, on which more below.

'Sacred herds' would certainly have been a convenient way to ensure a ready supply of sacrificial animals, particularly in cases of wild (or semi-wild) animals, the supply of which in time for sacrifice (and in an unscathed state)[58] could not otherwise be easily guaranteed. Yet as the inscriptions from Morgantina illustrate, clearly not all 'sacred flocks' were for sacrifice, and this is likely also, for example, for Hera's peacocks on Samos, attested in the fourth century BC.[59] Neither do osteological finds suggest a particularly widespread custom of dove sacrifice to Aphrodite or any other deities – though this picture may yet change with increasing attention being paid to osteological remains.[60] The few bones of wild rock doves that have recently been found in the Archaic sanctuary of Aphrodite

[53] Delos: *IG* XI.2 287 A 67; cf. Bruneau (1970:420). Larissa: Decourt and Tziaphalias (2015:17 line A11, cf. also 39–40). Small fish (*apopyris*) and hens are, however, recommended as purificatory sacrifice to Artemis Phylake: *ibid*. 19 lines B31–32 with the discussion on pp. 40–1.

[54] Such as the sacred herd belonging to Xenophon's Artemision in Skillous (Xen. *An*. 5.3.7–13) and perhaps the *thremmata tes theou* of Artemis at Lousoi (Polyb. 4.17–18).

[55] E.g. Lucian, *Syr. D*., 45, see Lefèvre-Novaro (2010:51). The horses owned by Apollo at Delphi according to an inscription of 178 BC, for example, would not have served as sacrificial animals, whereas the cows mentioned in the same inscription might well have; cf. Isager (1992:16).

[56] Ael. *NA* 17.46, citing Mnaseas fr. 11 Müller, cf. Arist. *Hist. an*. 9.614a7.

[57] Klytos of Miletos fr. 1 Müller; cf. Dalby (2003:169–70). On sacred birds see also Bodson (1978:99), and Pollard (1977:146–8).

[58] As demanded e.g. by Plut. *De def. or*. 437a-b and Arist. fr. 101 Rose. Cf. also Stengel (1910:201–2), arguing that this problem explains the rarity of game and fish sacrifices, but denying the possibility that 'sacred fish' could have served as sacrificial animals.

[59] Antiphanes fr. 175 Kock.

[60] It must be remembered that bones of small birds (as of fish) are particularly vulnerable to destruction in the archaeological record and to being missed by excavators; on this problem, see also Ekroth in this volume (Chapter 1). Nevertheless, sacrificed pigeons seem to be attested already in Mycenaean tombs, e.g. at Kephallenia: cf. Kyparisses (1919:97, 99 fig. 15).

at Miletos are hardly sufficient to indicate a prominent local custom of dove sacrifices.[61] Nor is the osteological evidence from the Archaic-period dump in the sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania at Athens conclusive; only a few unburnt dove and chicken bones as well as (chicken) eggshells have been found, while the majority of the assemblage is made up of burnt sheep and goat bones as well as some burnt fishbones and shells.[62] A handful of dove bones are also known at Kalapodi and the Theban Kabeirion.[63] Scarce osteological remains might potentially hint at sacrifices of partridges at Kommos on Crete, and at Cypriot Tamessos for Aphrodite.[64] In the Classical to Hellenistic sanctuary of Demeter at Mytilene, bird bones include goose, partridge and pigeon/dove (though again, few), in addition to chicken bones, which dominate the bird bone assemblage.[65] As all are unburnt (the sacrificial ash pits contained only burnt remains of young pigs, sheep/goats as well as scallops and oysters), it seems likely that one is dealing here with special additions to the sacred meals, possibly sacrificed in what Ekroth suggests should be imagined as scaled-down ritual rather than 'regular' *thysia*. As noted earlier, for birds a modified version of the *thysia* would have been unavoidable for anatomical reasons alone.[66]

Present evidence, then, bears out John the Lydian's assertion of partridge and dove sacrifice to Aphrodite only to a limited extent – if at all, doves appear in purificatory sacrifices or as supplementary food for banquets. Still, there is no reason per se why doves and partridges should not have served as sacrificial animals. In Near Eastern and Egyptian cultures, at least, pigeons (notably rock pigeons) appear to have a very long history as domesticated birds that could have a religious significance, a certain alimentary role, and that could be used as sacrificial animals.[67] In Greece

[61] Two bones of a rock dove (*columba livia*) and one of a stock dove or rock dove (*columba oenas s. livia*); I am grateful to Joris Peters and Henriette Obermaier for this information. The bones were found among other bones of sacrificial animals, and Peters and Obermaier assume that the doves would have been part of sacrificial meals. No other bird bones appear to be attested in the sanctuary. As elsewhere in Ionia, votive figurines of women holding birds are, however, common among the sanctuary's offerings.

[62] Reese (1989:64–8).

[63] One possible domestic dove bone from Roman layers and two woodpigeon bones from Hellenistic to Roman levels at the Kabeirion, and five dove bones from Hellenistic to Byzantine Kalapodi: Reese (2000b:568–9). At least in some of these cases, of course, the possibility of the bones being intrusive needs to be considered.

[64] One burnt and three unburnt chukar partridge bones were found in the Phoenician sanctuary at Kommos in the later seventh century BC, and one bone of a chukar partridge (*alectoris chukar*) is known from the area of the (Archaic) temple of Astarte-Aphrodite at Tamassos: Reese (2000b: 565–6).

[65] Ruscillo (1993).

[66] Ekroth (2007:208), and Ekroth, this volume (Chapter 1).

[67] Johnston (2000); cf. also Minunno (2013).

doves were at least partly domesticated, and in Classical Athenian imagery in particular appear as domesticated pets which, along with other birds, enjoyed a special role in women's world. It may be that their role as 'pets' of Aphrodite and their symbolic association with the goddess restricted their sacrificial and possibly even alimentary use; but certainly their limited place in the alimentary systems of Greece, as well as their small size that made sharing virtually impossible, was intimately related to their specific and marginal role in a sacrificial context.[68]

'A White Pair of Water-Haunting Geese': Goose Sacrifice between Greece and Egypt

This leaves us, finally, to consider the goose (*chenos*), the other bird mentioned by John the Lydian and in many ways the most intriguing of sacrificial birds in ancient Greece. Once again, scholarship is either silent on the topic, or outdated and of limited use. Stephani's 1864 collection of supposed images of goose sacrifice was in large part discounted already in 1869 by Wolff.[69] Similarly, Otto Keller in his 1887 study of animals in antiquity argued that the goose as a symbol of love served as a sacrificial animal to Venus on Cyprus and elsewhere,[70] yet on closer inspection the adduced slim body of evidence proves to be mostly irrelevant.[71]

Indeed, the only testimony cited by Keller to stand the test of time is the passage in John the Lydian, which remains the sole explicit reference to goose sacrifices to Aphrodite. Other sources mention other gods, though these, too, are not without problems. As regards Roman Italy, the sacrifice in Rome of a silver-coin filled goose to Mars under Domitian, referred to by Martial (9.31), seems to be a unique event, even if in the northern provinces of the Roman Empire Mars seems to have had a certain association with geese.[72] Regarding sacrifices of geese to Priapus, the corpus of

[68] For literary passages referring to doves being served at Classical banquets, see below, n. 151.

[69] Stephani (1864); Wolff (1869).

[70] Keller (1887:288), referred to in Olck (1910:731), re-iterated by Thompson (1895:194 ('sacred to Venus in Cyprus')).

[71] Keller (1887:454 n. 24). The silver bowl found at Golgoi in Cyprus and cited by Keller as evidence for Cypriot goose sacrifice to Aphrodite does indeed show a goose being slaughtered, but as part of an elaborate 'Nile cruise'; as an Egyptianising Phoenician scene, the image has little relevance for local Cypriot customs; cf. C. Braun, in Latacz (2008:313–14 no. 34); Markoe (1985:31–2, 632); Matthäus (1985:169, 176–7, pl. 46). Similarly, a vase image said to feature a goose sacrifice actually just represents a figure holding a goose. Nor can a goose next to Aphrodite on an Etruscan mirror be taken as a hint at a goose sacrifice, as the bird merely accompanies the goddess.

[72] He is occasionally shown accompanied by a goose: see Mattern (1992), who (quite possibly correctly) suspects a link with the goose's perceived role as guardian at Rome – though representations on

evidence[73] has been critically re-evaluated – and virtually obliterated – by recent scholarship. This includes the famous passage in Petronius (136.4–7) referring to Priapus' sacred geese and their role as sacrificial animals, as well as several supposed scenes on vases, gems and reliefs, which are today largely discounted, mostly for good reasons.[74] Certainly, in art, representations of actual bird sacrifices to a (priapic) herm (other scenes often merely show a bird sitting on an altar) are often not clear enough to allow a definitive identification of the bird, and more often than not (as e.g. above, Fig. 3.2) a cock is more likely.[75]

Somewhat less equivocal is a group of Roman period references to goose sacrifices in the cult of Isis, several of which relate to Roman Greece. Earliest among them is Ovid, who in his *Fasti* mentions geese being sacrificed to Io/Isis, but adds no further details.[76] Pausanias in his descriptions of Roman Greece is more specific. His account of a three-day festival of Isis at Tithorea in Phokis (10.32.16) includes the description of a holocaustic sacrifice said to be in a traditional Egyptian manner, at which 'the more prosperous people slaughter cattle and deer, the less well-off even slaughter geese and guinea fowl; but the use of sheep, pigs, or goats would be against the sacred law'. The account is striking for three reasons: the whole of the sacrifice is holocaustic; the permitted sacrificial animals are mostly unusual; and birds are explicitly designated as cheap offerings made by the poor. As regards the first point, we may again refer to Pirenne-Delforge's and Ekroth's observation that the proliferation of holocaustic sacrifices in accounts of Roman Greece may well reflect a Roman penchant for violent displays and a connotation of presumed antiquity for

a Prenaestine cista and a relief from Ostia are hardly sufficient for arguing a widespread link between geese and Juno. Cf. also Albarella (2005:254 fig. 4); Borhy (1994:145–53); Keller (1887:456 n. 42); Olck (1910:723, 735).

[73] As cited by Stephani (1864:79); Keller (1887:455, n. 24); Thompson (1895:194); Olck (1910:733–4); and others.

[74] See especially Richardson (1980:98–103); Hamer (2007:321–3). Richardson points to the general lack of evidence for sacred geese and goose sacrifices to Priapus apart from the passage in Petronius, and Hamer notes the possibility of the passage being a mere literary allusion to the famous episode of Marcus Manlius and the Capitoline Geese in Livy 5.47. Cf. also Hünemörder (1998:780). The evidence cited by Stephani (1864:79 n. 8; cf. 1868:146) was critically assessed already by Wolff (1869:189–90), and Herter (1932:269).

[75] See e.g. the gems collected by Brogli (1996:185–6 nos. 179–86, pls. 36–8), many of which show a bird the size of a chicken held upside down above the altar at a rural shrine usually featuring a herm; both men and women are shown as involved in the sacrifice. Also on the relief-decorated altar dedicated to Diana in the British Museum (GR 1805,0703.206 [Sculpture 2489]; above, Fig. 3.2), mentioned by Keller (1887:455, n. 25) as depicting a goose sacrifice to Priapus, the bird may very well be a cock (and is in fact described as such by Matz (1963:46 no. 27)).

[76] Ov. *Fast.* 1.453–4; cf. also Prescendi (2007:209).

holocaustic sacrifices. They are surely right in cautioning us not to assume that such accounts necessarily reflect earlier Greek *enagismos* rituals, but, sometimes at least, original *thysiai*.[77] The third point ties in well with what has been observed earlier in relation to economic considerations affecting chicken sacrifices. That such considerations also affected geese as sacrificial animals seems confirmed by a passage that describes an exceptional goose sacrifice to Apollo at Daphne in Syria in the fourth century AD, where the context implies that geese were seen primarily as cheap private offerings. Geese are also mentioned in close association with chickens in the second century BC inscription from near Larissa, noted above, which stipulates a payment to the sanctuary of an obol per chicken and an obol and a half per goose that is sacrificed; it is noteworthy here that the sacrifices are regular *thysiai*, and that the bird's legs and innards are to be offered on the sacrificial table, while the rest of the animal can be taken away.[78]

As with chickens, cheapness and easy availability alone are not sufficient to explain the use of geese as sacrificial animals. Instead, there are strong indications that, as sacrificial animals, geese had specific connotations that determined both their choice by certain worshippers and their suitability for certain cults and certain deities. In particular, the goose was closely associated with the world of women and female deities. Not only are geese frequently represented as pets of women and children in fifth century BC 'gynaikeion' scenes and grave reliefs,[79] but the goose, alongside the swan, is also a common mount for Aphrodite and Eros particularly in Classical Athens, one of the earliest examples being the Pistoxenos Painter's white-ground cup of 470/60 BC (Fig. 3.3).[80] As I have set out elsewhere in more detail,[81] geese in Classical Greece carried connotations of domesticity and beauty, the goose's white plumage reflecting female white skin and purity. They also stood for virtues such as loyalty, watchfulness and protection of house and offspring – Aristotle (*Hist. an*. 1.1.488b23) highlights the goose's

[77] Pirenne-Delforge (2006).

[78] Artemis sanctuary near Larissa: Decourt and Tziaphalias (2015: 19 lines B54–55); elsewhere in the inscription (*ibid*. p. 20 lines B70–73), instructions are given for payments relating to the holocaustic sacrifice of geese and other birds (quails and 'trybba' – cf. also *ibid*. p. 40), all attracting the same fee as a goose. Apollo sanctuary in Syria: Julian *Mis*. 362b. An indication of the price of geese is given by a Ptolemaic papyrus of 190–188 BC, which lists the cost of a goose at 600 bronze dr. and a small goose at 200 bronze dr., compared to a ceramion of wine at 400 copper dr., cf. Segre (1942:179).

[79] Villing (2008), with further literature.

[80] London, British Museum GR 1864,1007.77 (Vase D 2); on this and other representations of Aphrodite with a goose, see A. Delivorrias, G. Berger-Doer and A. Kossatz-Deissmann, *LIMC* II (1984) s.v. Aphrodite, esp. 96–8 Aphrodite 903–46.

[81] Villing (2008).



Fig. 3.3. Attic white-ground cup by the Pistoxenos Painter, about 470–460 BC, depicting Aphrodite on a goose. London, British Museum GR 1864,1007.77 (Vase D 2). Photograph © Trustees of the British Museum.

'cautious and watchful' nature – characteristics that associated them closely with the female world and with socially desirable female virtues.[82]

It is of little surprise, then, that we hear of instances of flocks of 'sacred geese' being associated with sanctuaries of female deities. The most famous 'sacred geese' are, of course, those of Juno on the Capitoline hill in Rome, although this particular case has recently undergone much critical re-evaluation and in many ways emerges as a red herring in as far as the phenomenon of sacred flocks is concerned.[83] However, there are also other,

[82] Hence also perhaps its brief association in Athenian imagery with the goddess Athena: Villing (2008). A further possible element linking the goose and other water birds with women might have been the idea of women's 'moist' nature as we find it e.g. in the writings of Hippokrates: Cole (2004: 161–2); cf. also Rocchi (2004), on the significance of the fat(tened) goose. Similar connotations appear to be known also in other cultures; an example is the long-standing tradition of the gift of a goose by the groom to the bride's mother in Korea.

[83] See e.g. Ziolkowski (1993:206–19) with earlier literature; cf. also Hünemörder (1998). For the second century AD relief from Ostia showing geese outside a temple, see also Simon (1990:103 fig. 128). Ovid's passage (*Fast.* 1.453–5), 'nor did saving the Capitol protect the goose from yielding up its liver on a charger to thee, daughter of Inachus', attributing goose sacrifices to Io/Isis while referring to the Capitol episode, indirectly suggests that no such sacrifices were performed for Juno.

and earlier, examples – indeed, if we interpret the Linear-B tablets from Thebes correctly, geese may have been tended (and fed with olive oil) in a sacred context already in Mycenaean times.[84] Aelius Aristides[85] not only refers to sacred geese being kept in the temple of Isis at Smyrna, but also talks of the goddess asking for two geese to be sacrificed to her – hence confirming that one and the same species could be sacred and sacrificed to one and the same deity, and corroborating the idea that sacred flocks might have served as ready supplies for sacrifice.

A particularly notable case is the flock of geese that were kept on Delos (in addition to the doves and partridges mentioned earlier). Over several decades in the third century BC the Delian temple accounts testify to the priests keeping geese and fox-geese on the sacred lake (*limne*),[86] and it may be that at least some of them had been given to the sanctuary as offerings. The purchase of barley for their feed, the sale of dead geese and of partridges as well as of goose and fox-goose eggs are all attested: the animals were clearly an integral part of sanctuary economy. Interestingly, swans are not mentioned in this context, in spite of their close association with Apollo, the main Delian deity, in myth and art.[87] Swans, however, were generally neither eaten[88] nor, it seems, sacrificed in ancient Greece, nor were their eggs consumed; their conspicuous absence from Delos (and other sanctuaries) further supports the impression that sacred flocks more often than not had practical functions in sanctuaries.[89]

[84] Rousioti (2001:308); cf. also Neumann (2006), referring to *ornithes*, geese and pigeons as birds probably kept by Mycenaean Greeks.

[85] *Sacred Tales* 3.44–50 = 49.44–50 Behr. See the discussion in Dunand (1973:75–6). Geese kept in a sanctuary (of an unspecified deity) are also mentioned by Artemidoros (*Oneirocr.* 4.83).

[86] Esp. *IG* XI.2 144, A lines 23–5; 146, A line 16; 156, A line 16; 158, A lines 31–2; 161, A line 38; 287 lines 45, 59–60, 64, 66–8, 71; *ID* 290, line 82; 292 line 2; etc.; cf. Bruneau (1979:83–107, esp. 98); Reger (1994:11, 96, 198). Prêtre et al. (2002) features a translation of *IG* XI.2 161 and 287; I am grateful to Clarisse Prêtre for helpful advice on geese and other birds on Delos. Keller's claim (1887:289–90) that 'vielfach wurden die Gänse heerdenweise bei den Tempeln aufgezogen und galten dann für heilig' makes too much of the limited evidence.

[87] Both in literature (among the earliest references linking Apollo with the swan is Sappho fr. 208) and in art, see e.g. the representation of Apollo riding a swan on the Athenian bell krater London (British Museum GR 1917,0725.2) and other similar representations: W. Lambrinoudakis, in *LIMC* II (1984), 227–8 Apollo 342–50. Cf. also the discussion in Skalsky (1997:57–9), and the early association of Hyakinthos with the swan: Villard (1999:546–50).

[88] The appearance of swans – alongside pelicans and cranes – in an extravagant dinner menu described by Anaxandrides (quoted below, n. 151) is surely meant as a joke.

[89] Larger animals, too, such as oxen, goats and pigs, were kept on Delos – in the fourth century BC, cows grazed on Apollo's land, and wool from sacred sheep was being sold; these animals, however, were clearly also sacrificial animals; cf. Isager (1992:15–20).

The Delian geese are usually believed to have been sacred to Leto,[90] though one may wonder if they did not perhaps also play a role in the worship of Isis, which is attested on Delos since at least 300 BC.[91] Keeping flocks of geese (and other waterfowl) attached to temples was certainly popular in Isis' Egyptian homeland; the best-known example is probably Karnak, where domesticated (greylag) geese were kept in the fowl-yard (home also to ducks, doves, cranes and other birds) associated with the temple so as to provide ready supplies for offerings to Amun-Ra, and where the daily ritual included the release of a goose onto the sacred lake.[92] Greylag geese (*anser anser*) had long been domesticated in Egypt and were kept in poultry yards. As sacrificial animals they had been popular (second only to cattle) since the Old Kingdom and were used in food offerings in sanctuaries and to the dead; domesticated white-fronted geese (*anser albifrons*) may have been equally popular, and also wild geese were caught, kept, eaten and offered.[93]

An Egyptian connection is further supported by the presence of wild Egyptian Nile or fox-geese (*chenalopex aegyptica*) among the Delian birds; these were an Egyptian species known to Greeks at least since the fifth century BC but never common there.[94] In Egypt, they had a close association with the gods Amun, Re and Geb (father of Isis), both as an embodiment of these gods and as sacrificial animals, featuring in foundation deposits of temples and in Opening of the Mouth ceremonies. In the Late Period – a time of increased contact between Greece and Egypt – geese and other sacrificial animals were often seen as symbolic of enemies. The geese sacrificed in a holocaust for Horus, son of Isis, for example, belong in this symbolic framework of the destruction of the enemy.[95] Indeed, at least

[90] Bruneau (1970:211). [91] Cf. Dunand (1973:83–115).

[92] Kuentz (1934); Ricke (1937); Graindorge (1996). Note also that one of Amun's epithets was 'the beautiful *smn*-goose', i.e. fox-goose. Although the domestication of greylag geese is easy and was probably repeated many times in different times and regions, it seems to be first attested in Egypt: MacDonald and Blench (2000:529–30).

[93] On geese in Egypt, see esp. Störk (1977); cf. also Cobianchi (1936:121–38); Vandier (1971); Speyer (1973:178–89); Houlihan and Goodman (1986:54–65); Boessneck (1988:88–103); Wilson (1988: 38–41); Graindorge (1996); MacDonald and Blench (2000:529–30); cf. also Hdt. 2.45, and note the Egyptian silver bowl mentioned above, n. 71. As in Greece, geese may also have been pets in Egypt; cf. Störk (1977). In ancient Mesopotamia, too, geese had long been domesticated and were kept for eggs and meat; they feature, for example, alongside sheep, oxen, deer, ducks, pigeons, fish and gerbils in Ashurnasirpal's banquet of 863 BC: McIntosh (2005:125, 128–9).

[94] Cf. the mention in Aristophanes' *Birds* 1303; cf. also Olck (1910:712); Keller (1913:226–7); Pollard (1977:65).

[95] Cf. Junker (1910:69–79); Wildung (1977); Eggebrecht (1977); Graindorge (1996:89–91) and most recently Bouanich (2005). More positive connotations of the goose are also attested, e.g. as an animal to lift the deceased up to heaven.

some instances of the famous Hellenistic sculptural motif of a boy seemingly playfully strangling a fox-goose,[96] which goes back to at least the early third century BC, allude to a young Egyptian god (Harpokrates/Horus the Child) strangling the (sacrificial) goose as the embodiment of an evil enemy, hence suggesting that this symbolism was not entirely unknown in an early Hellenistic Greco-Egyptian environment.[97]

Geese were also sacrificed to Isis herself in Ptolemaic Egypt: a Greek letter of 254 BC stipulates the provision of *ornithas chenea kai ornithea* for a festival of Isis in Alexandria, while an ostracon from the area of Philadelphia refers to the provision for Isis of *chena kai chenion* (goose and gosling).[98] Interestingly, there is also an overlap with Aphrodite. Satyrus' third century BC text on *The demes of Alexandria* stipulates the sacrifice (by private people in front of their houses) of *ornea* or other victims, except for sheep, for Arsinoe Philadelphos, an empress who was likened both to Aphrodite Euploia and Isis.[99] More explicit is the link when Ptolemaic Isis takes over Aphrodite's iconography of riding on a goose.[100] Rather than considering a random borrowing or syncretism, one may wonder whether Isis, Aphrodite and the goose are here linked because of an overlap of associations with water and seafaring. For Aphrodite and geese, we have seen this association stated explicitly in John the Lydian's explanation of goose sacrifices being appropriate for Aphrodite (Euploia) because of the geese's liking for water. For Isis, the same idea is brought out in an epigram of the *Greek Anthology* that describes a goose sacrifice by Damis to Isis and Osiris in gratitude for a rescue at sea: 'On the wood-ashes a crumbling cake is laid for thee and there is a white pair of water-haunting geese, and powdery nard round many-grained figs, and wrinkled raisins and sweet-scented frankincense.'[101] The goose for Isis is here not just a conveniently

[96] Ridgway (2006).

[97] Schollmeyer (2003; 2007). Similar conclusions are also reached by Ridgway (2006). Strangling was a common way of killing geese and other sacrificial birds in Egypt: Bouanich (2005:151).

[98] *P. Cair. Zen.* IV.59560 (Alexandria) and *BGU* VII.1501 (Philadelphia), both quoted by Dunand (1973:76).

[99] *P. Oxy.* 27 2465; the link with Isis has been argued especially by Schorn (2001).

[100] Egyptian terracotta flask in the shape of Isis riding on a goose in the British Museum, dated to the second or first century BC, possibly a caricature: London, British Museum EA 30458 (1899,0314.10): Walker and Higgs (2001:107 no. 130).

[101] *Anth.Pal.* 6.231, attributed to Philippos. Cf. also a reference to goose sacrifices to Osiris in Juv. 6.540 ('His tears and carefully-studied mutterings make sure that Osiris will not refuse a pardon for the fault, bribed, no doubt, by a fat goose and a slice of sacrificial cake'). The gem on which a woman is shown shoving a bird upside down into the sacrificial fire in the presence of an aulos-playing man, cited by Wolff (1869) as evidence for goose sacrifices to Isis, may well not feature a goose, but rather represent a rural sacrifice of a cock like that on the (in parts very similar) cameo published in Brogli (1996:185 no. 179, pl. 36), cf. above n. 75.

cheap sacrificial animal, a symbol of fertility or a mere survival of a long Egyptian tradition of bird sacrifice; it is chosen specially for its association with water, essential not just for life and agricultural fertility, but also the element across which the migratory goose flies on its travels across the continents and from which Isis rescues sailors in peril. As such, it is highly appropriate as the sacrificial animal for Isis, whose cult as patron of navigation spread from Ptolemaic Egypt across the Greek and Roman world, as well as for Aphrodite, goddess of love, in her function as patroness of seafaring.[102]

Of Geese and Deer: A Classical Goose Sacrifice

Is goose sacrifice in the Greek world, then, essentially a Hellenistic (or Ptolemaic) *topos*, bound up with the advent of the cult of Isis and her association with deities such as Aphrodite? This is what Stengel had already suspected,[103] and we might have been tempted to agree with him, were it not for the conspicuous presence of geese in earlier Classical Greek iconography – and especially an exceptional votive relief that represents an actual Greek goose sacrifice as early as the late fifth century BC.

The relief (Fig. 3.4),[104] found on Aigina, is the only certain Greek representation of a goose sacrifice known so far,[105] and a unique representation also in many other respects. It shows a sacrificial procession towards

[102] Cf. Dunand (1973:223–30); on Isis and water, cf. also Wild (1981). On Aphrodite, water and the sea, see Pironti (2007:158, 245–7); Papadopoulou (2010).

[103] Stengel (1910:227), prompted in part by the absence of geese from the above-mentioned list of Greek sacrificial animals in Theophrastos (ap. Porph. *Abst*. 2.25), compared to their inclusion in (presumably) later lists.

[104] Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1950, from Aigina, Palaiochora: Polinskaya (2013:293–4, 645 fig. 15); Kearns (2010:212 fig. 9); E. Vlachogianni in Kaltsas and Shapiro (2008:228–9); Schörner (2008:355, pl. 20 fig. 34); L. Kahil, in *LIMC* II (1984), 658 Artemis 461; A. Costantini, in *ThesCRA* III (2005), 188 no. 64; M. True et al., in *ThesCRA* I (2004), 15 no. 91; A. Hermary and M. Leguilloux, in *ThesCRA* I (2004), 75 no. 71; Kaltsas (2002:143 no. 273); Comella (2002:79–80 fig. 72, p. 209 no. Egina 4); Parisinou (2000:97, 215 no. 6.78, pl. 33); Edelmann (1999:117, 214–15 no. F20); van Straten (1995:84–5, 293–4 no. R76); Simon (1985:279, pl. 52.2); Mitropoulou (1977:72 no. 145); Kraus (1960:112); Welter (1938:533–40, fig. 49); cited also by Burkert as evidence for goose sacrifice: Burkert (1985:368 n. 3).

[105] A further possible allusion to a goose sacrifice appears on a fourth century BC hero and heroine banquet relief from Athens (Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3873) that shows a pig being led to sacrifice while, further back, a goose (?) is being chased by a boy. Van Straten took the bird to be an additional sacrificial animal, while Lawton recently proposed that in this particular instance the bird may be no more than the toddler's pet; while the presence of a pet might seem strange in a sacrificial context, it is true that the bird is not being led to the altar the way one would expect for a sacrificial animal, and the interpretation as a goose sacrifice thus has to remain doubtful: van Straten (1995:98, 306 no. R126, fig. 103); Lawton (2007:46–7, fig. 2.3).



Fig. 3.4. Marble votive relief from Aigina, Palaiochora, about 400 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 1950. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Athen, Neg. no. D-DAI-ATH-NM 6275. Photo: G. Hellner.

a large altar with a curved top on a four-stepped base. The size and shape of the latter is highly unusual if not unparalleled in Greek iconography.[106] Most immediately one is reminded of high-stepped altars, sometimes topped by horns of consecration, as they seem to be found in Bronze Age Cyprus or Anatolia.[107] Closer to home, it most closely resembles the type of monumental stepped Ionian block altar with volute-acroteria, as it is

[106] Aktseli 1996: 9, 15, 87 no. Rd19. A much smaller four-stepped base with altar is found in an Eleusinian scene on a mid-fifth-century BC Attic red-figure krater by the Niobid Painter (Paris, Louvre G343: Aktseli 1996:102 no. Vc109), a three-stepped base with altar features on a black-figure amphora of 540–530 BC (Paris, ex Coll. Niarchos: Aktseli 1996:107 no. Vf1, fig. 12), and a tall seven-stepped base carrying an altar and two herms appears in a rural sacrificial scene on an Attic black-figure skyphos of 520–500 BC (Athens, NM 12531; E. Stasinolopoulou-Kakarouga in Kaltsas and Shapiro (2008:234–5)). Welter (1938:533–40) believed the structure on the Aigina relief to be a ship monument instead of an altar, but a ship monument as the destination of what is clearly a sacrificial procession is hard to imagine; subsequent scholarship has generally discounted the idea, though Comella (2002:79–80, 209), equally unconvincingly, suggests an identification as the prow of a ship placed on top of a stepped altar.

[107] Taylor (1957:17, 103–11); Hoffmann (1953).

known from the sixth and fifth centuries BC.[108] In front of the altar, one man is pouring a libation from a phiale, seemingly over the goose, which another man is holding with both arms. Van Straten sees the libation as unconnected to the goose, but the placement of the phiale above the goose's head and the fact that the goose seems deliberately held low would seem to suggest otherwise.[109] The goose has a long triangular beak (the front section partly broken off) and its legs are dangling behind the man's left hand; his right hand (fingers partly broken off) supports the goose around its chest.[110] Both men are bearded and wear a short chiton. The unusual scene of apparently pouring a libation over the goose may represent the pre-sacrifice sprinkling with water (or indeed dousing with a libation – *kataspendomenon*) of the animal that was intended to cause the animal to move and shake off the water, a ritual that has been fundamentally re-evaluated of late.[111] A boy leading a (young) male deer and a group consisting of a woman, a man and a girl (presumably further family members) follows. Behind the two men with the goose stands a goddess rendered in very low relief; she is dressed in a peplos with a loose overfold, her hair in a bun, and she is holding two short torches.

The sacrifice thus appears to be a regular *thysia* for a female deity, yet its further interpretation is highly problematic. Who are the people offering the sacrifice, who is the recipient and what is the occasion? As on most votive reliefs, the sacrifice represented here is a private small-scale affair, and the family is offering neither a large number of animals nor the most expensive ones.[112] The choice of animals, nevertheless, is exceptional, as is the working men's dress of the figures actually performing the sacrifice. Worshippers normally would represent themselves in regular citizens' garb, of the kind worn by the other worshippers on the relief.[113] One is reminded of the

[108] Ohnesorg (2005:3–4, 36–7 no. 10, 135–6 no. 9, pls. 14, 33, 43); alternatively, the curved top might represent the wind-break of a block- or pi-shaped altar: *ibid*., 4–5. Hoffmann argues for an Egyptian origin of the Ionian stepped altar: Hoffmann (1953).

[109] van Straten (1995:84–5).

[110] A. Hermary (*ThesCRA I* [2004], 74–5 no. 71), perhaps mistaking the right hand of the man holding the goose for a front leg, recently suggested that the animal might in fact be a turtle. However, a close examination of the relief shows clearly that the animal is a goose.

[111] On the rite of *kataspendomenon* cf. esp. Plut. *De def. or*. 435b–c, who talks of libations being poured on animals; iconographically, however, the use of a phiale for pouring a libation over an animal seems to be unique: cf. Gebauer (2002:215); van Straten (1995:37). For the recent critical re-assessment of the issue of the 'nodding' victim in connection with the rite, see Georgoudi in the present volume (Chapter 4); Naiden (2007:61–73, esp. 64–5); Parker (2011:129–30).

[112] Cf. Edelmann (1999:154).

[113] Only few votive reliefs feature dedicants in workmen's attire, such as a late fifth century BC votive relief from Athens, in which a man in a short chiton and pilos appears with his horse cart before

above-mentioned passage in Pausanias (10.32.16) that refers to poorer people offering geese to Isis at Tithorea. In the context of a votive relief, however, such dress can hardly connote poverty – a relief in itself is not a cheap offering after all, and the relief in question is large and well carved. As Stafford[114] notes in her discussion of cocks being offered to Asklepios, 'the humble nature of the cock-sacrifice probably explains its absence from the iconographical record'. Hence, to find a humble dress as well as a humble goose depicted in a large relief intended for public display suggests that special significance must be attached to the men's profession (or perhaps also origin?) rather than their economic status.[115] And the choice of sacrificial animals itself is special, too, including not only the goose, prominently displayed, but also a young deer, equally unusual as a sacrificial animal.[116] We can assume that the goose is likely to be domesticated rather than wild, as domesticated geese by this time were widespread in Greece (cf. below), but also the young deer, being led calmly to the altar, appears tame – a mere iconographic device or a possible hint at sacred herds of tame deer?[117]

The rite represented in the relief is clearly a *thysia*, yet the choice of sacrificial animals is most reminiscent of literary descriptions of holocaustic rites. The first parallel that springs to mind is Pausanias' above-mentioned description of the festival at Tithorea, which involved sacrifices of both deer and geese. Even more pertinent is the reference in the *Greek Anthology* (6.231.4) that describes the (holocaustic?) sacrifice to Isis of 'a white pair of water-haunting geese' brought by Damis in gratitude for a rescue at sea; it concludes: 'But if, O queen, you save Damis from poverty, as you did from the deep, he will sacrifice a young deer [*kemas*] with gilded horns' – thus mirroring precisely the combination of sacrificial animals on our relief (while also suggesting a difference in value between geese and deer). Could the two men in working men's clothes thus be mariners, sacrificing at a shrine of Isis on Aigina – the great seafaring island with long-standing close trade connections with Egypt? Might they be thanking the goddess

Asklepios, Hygieia and Epione, a dedication made in thanks for being rescued by the god: Edelmann (1999:192 no. B51); Comella (2002:48 fig. 34).

[114] Stafford (2008:212).

[115] On the function of votive reliefs in the communication between worshipper and deity, see esp. Klöckner (2006:139–52).

[116] Both animals are attested on Aigina since the Bronze Age; a (greylag?) goose bone was recently recovered at Kolonna in a Middle Helladic context probably of domestic nature, alongside bones of dove, rock partridge and other birds, but especially sheep, goat, cattle as well as red deer, wild boar and other animals: Forstenpointner et al. (2010).

[117] Compare also Borowsky's argument that deer must be counted among the domesticated stock in an Israelite/Punic context, on the basis of their appearance as sacrificial animals in written documents and archaeological evidence: Borowsky (2002:416).

for a safe return, such as from a voyage to the Greek trading post at Naukratis in the Nile Delta, where Aigina possessed a sanctuary of Zeus (Hdt. 2.178)? Certainly by the Hellenistic period, Isis had come to prominence as a patroness of navigation and specifically of mariners in peril.[118] By the later fourth century BC she had an Egyptian-founded sanctuary in the Piraeus, and it is just about possible that she was worshipped there already by the later fifth century BC.[119] Greeks living in or visiting Egypt would have been familiar with her worship since the Archaic period, and it is to Isis that the majority of the Archaic and Classical Greek dedications in Egyptian sanctuaries were made.[120] It would thus not be entirely inconceivable to imagine that Greek sailors returning from Egypt also worshipped Isis on home soil, perhaps in fulfilment of a vow. They do not necessarily have to be Aiginetans, though, since the relief dates from a time well after the maritime heyday of Aigina, and could have been dedicated by visiting Athenians or by members of the Athenian cleruchy on Aigina. Alternatively, it might be an attractive hypothesis to see the relief as a dedication by those Aiginetans who were, in 405 BC, recalled from exile and reinstated on the island by the Spartan general Lysander, an event that surely was reason enough for a thank offering to the gods. Whether this god was Isis, however, cannot be considered as certain. Not only is the relief a good hundred years earlier than our first secure attestations of Isis as patroness of mariners and of her worship on Greek soil, but it needs to be admitted that there is nothing else in the iconography of the goddess on the relief to clearly mark her as Egyptian Isis. Other options thus need to be explored.

The divine female figure with two torches is clearly of standard Greek iconography and represents a type common enough in the fifth and fourth centuries BC. A particularly close parallel can be found on an Early Classical Athenian amphora that equally features an altar and a goose (Fig. 3.5a)[121] and

[118] Cf. Dunand (1973:227–8); although there is no explicit evidence for it, Dunand considers it possible that this function goes back already to earlier periods.

[119] As is suggested by passages in comedy and the personal name 'Isigenes' of an Athenian citizen (*IG II2* 1927.50), although the cult of Isis was not taken up more widely by Greeks until much later: Simms (1989:216–21); Bäbler (1998:71–2). There were also Egyptians resident in Athens in the period. No sanctuary of Isis is so far attested for Aigina.

[120] Notably a bronze statuette of Isis with Horus child of *c.* 500 BC dedicated to Isis by Pythermos, son of Neilon, in fulfilment of a vow; cf. a similar dedication, by Alexiades and Tabo, from Leontopolis of the early fourth century BC, and a Carian dedication to Isis of the later sixth century BC: Vittmann (2003:231–2); Vittmann (2005). Cf. also the seventh century BC Ionian bronze griffin protome found in the area of the temple complex of Isis and Apis at Saqqara: Green (1987:62–3 no. 151 fig. 92).

[121] Gela, Museo Archeologico, inv. 9232: Villing (2008:173, 180 fig. 6); *ARV2* 650.10, attributed to the Nikon Painter. A further interesting group – not least in the light of the Boiotian myth of Herkyna mentioned below – are Boiotian vases with representations of geese and other water birds



Fig. 3.5a. Attic red-figure Nolan amphora by the Nikon Painter, about 470–460 BC, depicting a woman and goose at an altar. Gela, Museo Archeologico, inv. 9232; from Vassallagi/Sicily. Photograph after NSA 9th ser. 9–10 (1998–9) 263 fig. 46.b.

hence may suggest that goose sacrifices for a torch-bearing deity were perhaps not just a one-off. On this particular amphora, unfortunately, the female figure cannot be identified with certainty; an identification as a mortal in the context of a bridal ritual has been suggested, yet on purely iconographic grounds another possibility is Hekate, whose representations on later fifth century BC Athenian vases – where she is securely identified by inscriptions – includes some very close parallels for the torch-bearing figure on our relief (Fig. 3.5b).[122] What is more, Hekate is known to have been especially honoured on Aigina: her shrine contained a wooden statue by Myron (Paus. 2.30.2), she appears as seated and torch-bearing on a later votive relief,[123] yearly mysteries were celebrated in her honour and she had a special concern with seafaring.[124] Already Hesiod (*Theog.* 440–447) refers to Hekate (together with Poseidon) assisting those who sail the gleaming,

accompanying women and other figures: Avronidaki (2015); I am grateful to Christina Avronidaki for bringing them to my attention.

[122] Attic hydria of about 430 BC showing Hekate (inscribed) in an Eleusinian setting: London, British Museum GR 1868,0606.8 (Vase E183); H. Sarian, in *LIMC VI* (1992), 991 Hekate 21, pl. 655; cf. also Kraus (1960:92–4). We may note in this context that at least in Roman times Hekate could be equated with Isis: Apuleius, *The Golden Ass* 11.2.5. For the identification, notably in Boeotian vase-painting, of torch-bearing women paired with water-birds as maidens in nuptial ritual, see Avronidaki (2015).

[123] Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1475, probably from Aigina, dated to about 330–320 BC: Kaltsas (2002:237 no. 499).

[124] Lucian (*Ploion* 15.258) mentions a group of sailors visiting Aigina to see the rites of Hekate, and also Origen in the third (*C. Cels.* 6.22) and Libanius in the fourth century AD (*Or.* 14.5) refer to mysteries and rituals of Hekate on Aigina; cf. also Ar. *Vesp.* 122; cf. also Kraus (1960:112); Kowalzig (2010: 163–4). On Hekate as a 'sea-goddess' see also Athen. 7.325, quoting Melanthius.



Fig. 3.5b. Attic red-figure hydria by the Painter of London E183, about 430 BC, depicting an Eleusinian scene with Hekate (inscribed). London, British Museum GR 1868,0606.8 (Vase E 183). Photograph © Trustees of the British Museum.

stormy sea. He notes her power of granting a rich catch to fishermen, besides her patronship (alongside Hermes) of herds of cattle, goats and sheep, as well as human offspring. Hekate's marine concerns are expressed also in her repeatedly receiving yet another 'unusual' sacrificial animal, namely fish.[125]

An identification of the deity on the relief as Hekate is, in fact, favoured by many scholars,[126] having first been suggested by Welter, who proposed the two men to be fishermen (or sailors) worshipping Hekate as goddess of the sea. What remains a problem, however, is the fact that neither goose nor deer are otherwise attested among animals sacrificed to Hekate. A fourth century BC relief might provide a possible parallel, as it shows a small animal that may (or may not) be a deer being led to sacrifice before three female deities, who have, highly speculatively, been suggested to represent the triple nature of Hekate.[127] According to (later) written sources, however, Hekate's sacrificial animals are restricted to piglets and dogs. These were also the goddess's main companion animals, indicative of a structural distance to the civilised world of the *polis*.[128] Indeed, this raises a further fundamental question: under what circumstances would commensality between humans and a deity, such as is inevitably associated with a *thysia*, have been conceivable for a deity such as Hekate? Of course, we need to

[125] Athen. 7.284a, 325. An identification as Hekate may be supported also by the low-relief epiphany of the figure behind the sacrificial scene.
[126] E.g. by Welter, Simon, Kraus, Edelmann, True et al. and Vlachogianni – see above, n. 104.
[127] Brindisi, Museo Archeologico Provinciale 384: Edelmann (1999:194 no. B62); Larson, Chapter 1 in this volume, n. 21. Mitropoulou (1975:50–1 no. 33), however, identifies the animal as a ram.
[128] Cf. A. Hermary, in *ThesCRA* I (2004), 83.

take care not to label Hekate as a goddess associated with pollution at too early a period; her character was complex and notably in the Archaic period she certainly could receive commensal *thysiai*. Yet by the time of the relief's erection the goddess was already firmly associated with the chthonic sphere, as well as with notions of witchcraft, at least in Athens. 'Disjunctive', non-commensal sacrifices – such as deposited meals or holocausts – would thus seem better suited to her in this period than 'conjunctive' rites.[129]

Would an identification as Artemis, as favoured by Jennifer Larson in the present volume, be a better option? As is set out by Larson, it is Artemis who is known to have been the main recipient of deer sacrifices in Greek cult.[130] *Thysiai* of deer to Artemis are attested in literary sources and osteological evidence, as well as representations. The latter, interestingly, include a votive relief from a sanctuary of Artemis at Mt. Kynthos on Delos, which, similar to our relief, features an unusually high-stepped altar (Larson, Chapter 2 in this volume, fig. 2.1). The altar type is, in fact, attested on Delos from the Archaic period (and, incidentally, if Hoffmann is correct with his suspicion of Egyptian influence on the type, might join the lake with sacred geese as a further Egyptian aspect to the Delian religious landscape).[131] Hence, both Sam Wide and Paul Stengel had identified the recipient deity on the Aigina relief as Artemis, whose cult is equally attested on Aigina (Paus. 2.30.1).[132] Iconographically, a deity with two torches could well be Artemis, even if this iconographic scheme is less common for her than for Hekate and one might expect Artemis to be more clearly identified by means of attributes, such as bow and quiver.[133] Still, we may remember that already Aischylos (*Supp*. 676–7) combined Artemis and Hekate into a single entity, Artemis-Hekate, indicating a close relationship between the two. How appropriate would goose sacrifices be for Artemis? Interestingly, geese feature prominently in the Archaic imagery of a deity closely related to Artemis, the Mistress of the Animals, who in early Greek art frequently holds large water birds, including geese, by the neck.[134] These geese, however, are wild animals, like the lions or panthers

[129] On Hekate's complex character, which included civic aspects and a general role of guiding individuals through liminal points and transitions, see recently Herda (2011:68–9 with notes 70–2), and Johnston (1999:21–8). On conjunctive and disjunctive sacrifices, see Parker (2011:141, 146–8).

[130] Cf. Stengel (1910:197); cf. also Kadletz (1976:84–7).

[131] Hoffmann (1953:195, pl. 60.18); Ohnesorg (2005:53–7, fig. 22).

[132] Stengel (1910:197) followed by L. Kahil in *LIMC* II (1984) 658 Artemis 461; Parisinou (2000:97, 215 no. 678).

[133] For a parallel see e.g. L. Kahil in *LIMC II* (1984), 699 Artemis 1021.

[134] Cf. Christou (1968:61–77); cf. also Keller (1887:293–4).

over which the *potnia theron* otherwise asserts her dominance: they are the migratory birds that visit Greece for periods of time, and not the tame, white geese that populated the yards of Classical Athenians. Likewise, it is not just the goose but frequently also the swan that appears in Artemis' company in the Early Classical period, a wild bird that only she as the goddess of the wild can tame. As regards actual goose sacrifices, our only possible hint is a passage in Pausanias (7.18.12) that describes a sacrificial ritual in the sanctuary of Artemis Laphria in Achaia, during which 'the people throw alive upon the altar edible birds and every kind of victim as well', including (rather ambitiously and surely impractically) boars, deer, wolf and bear cubs. As has been suggested recently by Pirenne-Delforge, this holocaustic ritual is most likely an Augustan reconstruction of what may originally have been a more 'regular' *thysia* of animals supplemented by first-fruits and hunters' prey; if the 'edible birds' included geese, we could thus reconstruct a *thysia* of geese and deer for Artemis Laphria, though this remains highly speculative.[135]

To complicate matters further, one could even doubt whether the deity with the torches is the main recipient of the sacrifice at all. Not only is it unusual that the recipient deity should stand behind the procession and be rendered in such low relief, but a closer look actually reveals that the relief is broken on the left and that the left border is not its original edge. It would therefore be possible to reconstruct a further deity, or deities, being present to the left of the altar: could the (preserved) standing figure thus be Persephone, accompanying – as on some votive reliefs – her mother Demeter, or indeed Hekate, with both Demeter and Persephone represented on the other side of the altar?[136] Such an interpretation seems unlikely on iconographical grounds, as the extremely high altar would function as a veritable barrier between deity and worshippers. Yet there is indeed some (slight) osteological evidence for geese being sacrificed to Demeter, or at any rate being consumed in sacred meals in Demeter sanctuaries: a bone from a white-fronted goose (*anser albifrons*) was found in a late first or second century AD food debris context in a cistern in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Corinth,[137] and, as mentioned above, goose bones, again not burnt, were recovered in the Classical/

[135] Pirenne-Delforge (2006). For the practice of including hunted wild animals or parts thereof into sacrificial meals and its attestation by osteological evidence, see also Ekroth (2007).

[136] Cf. e.g. the fourth century BC Athenian votive relief Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1016: van Straten (1995:291 no. R68, fig. 82).

[137] Lot 2109, bone lot 64–31, from the Middle Terrace Cistern 1964–1 in the Roman Stoa; I am grateful to David Reese for this information.

Hellenistic sanctuary of Demeter at Mytilene,[138] alongside bones from domestic chickens, partridges and pigeons/doves, hare, bear as well as – interestingly – deer.[139] We may remember, moreover, the Boiotian river nymph Herkyna, whose name appears as an epithet of Demeter in some sources,[140] and whose story is told by Pausanias (9.39.3) in order to explain why the statue of Herkyna in her temple near Lebadeia showed her as a maiden holding a goose:[141] 'They say that here Herkyna, when playing with Kore, the daughter of Demeter, held a goose which against her will she let loose. The bird flew into a hollow cave and hid under a stone; Kore entered and took the bird as it lay under the stone. The water flowed, they say, from the place where Kore took up the stone, and hence the river received the name of Herkyna.'

The passage underlines the recurrent theme of the goose's association with water, albeit here (more realistically) a river rather than the sea, and suggests that for Demeter, too, an association with the goose rested in the bird's aquatic habitat – if perhaps more in relation to agricultural fertility and grain (grain which, not least, also fattens geese) rather than maritime mobility. In this context, we might even bring a further pair of Aiginetan deities into the equation, the local goddesses Damia and Auxesia, who were worshipped at Oea on Aigina since at least the fifth century BC. As deities related in character to the realm of Demeter and Persephone, to grain, growth and the averting of drought, but also to the island's developing networks of economic relations, goose sacrifices would not seem entirely out of place for them, either.[142]

Isis, Hekate, Artemis, Demeter/Persephone, Damia/Auxesia: it seems that the patchy evidence does not allow us at present to name the deity on

[138] Ruscillo (1993:201–10, esp. 206–7).

[139] Ruscillo (1993); see also Larson, this volume (Chapter 2). Burnt partridge bones are known from the Phoenician sanctuary at Kommos in the later seventh century BC: Reese (2000b:565).

[140] Lykoph, *Alex.* 153; Hesych. s.v. 'Herkenia'.

[141] On Herkyna, whose cult was related to that of Demeter and a nearby chthonic cult of Zeus, and her possible representations, see Pipili (1990); Larson (1995:85–6); Bonnechère (2003:299–304) (with a discussion of the meaning of geese, highlighting their link with [natural and human] fertility, humidity and chthonian aspects); Rocchi (2004:106–7). Cf. also Couchoud (1923:256–7); Metzger (1979:65–6). There is, however, a certain confusion/overlap with images of Leda and the swan: L. Kahil in *LIMC* VI (1992), 232–3, Leda 8–14. In a Boiotian context one may also note a sixth century BC sacrificial procession towards Athena's altar on a Boiotian lekanis that features a rather indistinct bird sitting on the altar, but neither is this characterised as a sacrificial animal nor can we be sure about its identification as a goose: London, British Museum GR 1879,1004.1 (Vase B 80), discussed in detail by Schmidt (2002:51–6). Cf. also above, n. 121.

[142] *IG* IV 1588; Hdt. 5.83.2; Paus. 2.30.4; cf. Welter (1962:94–5), and especially Kowalzig (2010:138–41). Aphrodite, too, is known to have been worshipped on Aigina as a harbour deity: Paus. 2.29.6; cf. Kowalzig (2010:168–9).

the relief with certainty. Moreover: could it be that we are asking the wrong – or at least the less crucial – question? One might argue that it is not so much a deity's name but rather the way a ritual is situated in the framework of Greek animal sacrifice, and the way a sacrificial animal is related to a cultic, economic and semantic context, that is instructive. From this perspective a pattern has clearly emerged. The sacrifice by two mariners (?) of an animal with strong aquatic/marine connotations suggests a community depending on the sea and, perhaps, engaging with the wider Mediterranean world – conditions such as would invariably have been ritualised in a community's cultic systems.[143] On Aigina, the local cults of Aphaia and of Damia and Auxesia would have played their role in such a sea-oriented cultic system as much as that of maritime Hekate or indeed any potential cults of Artemis or even Isis – similar to the way that in rural inland Boiotia it would more likely have been the agricultural plain and its water supply – fundamental to the local ecological and economic system – that dominated the local pantheon via the local cults of Demeter, Kore, Herkyna and perhaps other deities. Whichever deity precisely received the Aiginetan goose and deer sacrifice, it was the specific symbolic connotations of the goose that influenced its choice as a sacrificial animal for a deity and occasion where these were appropriate – a link with water, rivers and sea, and a domesticated nature only just superseding wild origins.

From the Nursery onto the Altar? Geese and the Alimentary Systems of Greece

Sacrificial animals, like votive offerings, are part of a complex process in which many factors play a role – the nature of local cult and socio-economic conditions, pan-hellenic (or even pan-Mediterranean) perceptions of the deity to whom the offering is made and the dedicant's economic means. The choice of an animal for sacrifice, however, was subject also to one further particular consideration: their status and role in the alimentary system of Greece. I have touched upon this aspect repeatedly in connection with the birds discussed earlier, but for the goose it is even more pertinent. Here we are, of course, in the territory of scholars such as Vernant and others of the Paris School, who have done much to clarify the embeddedness of animal sacrifice in local systems of production and consumption and who have highlighted in particular the

[143] Kowalzig (2010).

conceptual dichotomy of domestic/civilised and wild/uncivilised as crucial in restricting human-divine commensality in the Greek *polis* to animals bred and kept by humans.[144] These fundamental tenets are reviewed, challenged and developed further in a number of contributions in the present volume, and our discussion of goose sacrifice provides a further opportunity to re-assess their validity by examining the status of birds in this conceptual framework.

As we have seen earlier, by the time chickens appear as sacrificial animals in the later fifth century BC, they were common domestic fowl in Greece, and hence part of a local cultural/semantic and alimentary system. For geese, it seems, the situation is similar. Certainly the large white geese that appear in (Early) Classical imagery in the company of women and goddesses are clearly of the domesticated variety, domestication being known to turn the greylag's plumage white.[145] We cannot say exactly when this first happened in Greece; there is evidence for domesticated geese already in the Bronze Age, if not earlier, but at the same time we observe that in seventh century BC imagery (both in animal friezes and in connection with the Mistress/Master of the Animals) geese are, more often than not, characterised as wild and indicative of the untamed natural world.[146] Indeed, while the *Iliad* mentions primarily wild geese, tame white geese appear repeatedly and explicitly in the *Odyssey*. Most conspicuous in this context is Penelope's tale (19.536–7): 'I have twenty geese about the house that eat mash [soaked grain] out of a trough, and of which I am exceedingly fond.' In the interpretation of Penelope's dream, these geese are later explained as symbolic of the suitors in her house. Keeping geese was thus not unheard of in Archaic aristocratic households, and Homer specifically characterises geese as Penelope's favourite 'pets', thus setting a precedent for the goose's long service in Greece as a symbol of wifely virtues of fidelity, affection, beauty and guardianship of house and offspring, noted earlier.[147]

[144] Cf. Larson, this volume (Chapter 2). The arguments are supported by ancient sources such as the famous passage in Julian's *Hymn to the Mother of the Gods*, 176d–77a, according to which in most important sacrifices where gods share the table with humans, fish are not sacrificed, because they are not bred and kept by humans.

[145] Villing (2008); on the domestication of geese (first attested in Egypt), cf. Blench and MacDonald (2000:529–30).

[146] Cf. above ns. 84, 116, 145.

[147] Compared to horses or cattle, but also birds such as owls or eagles, geese are relatively rarely mentioned in Homer, but in terms of frequency of references are more or less on a par with rock doves and more common than the likes of cranes or swallows: Voultsiadou and Tatolas (2005).

However, geese were presumably kept not just as pets but also for their eggs, which are mentioned in literary sources since the seventh century BC.[148] Geese formed part of the economy of individual households and – as in the sacred estates of Delos – sanctuaries alike. Like other barnyard fowl, they were relatively affordable by comparison with larger mammals and thus lent themselves to smaller-scale family sacrifices (a goose nowadays would be expected to feed eight to ten diners). At the same time their economic value should not be underestimated: as Aesop's fable of the goose laying golden eggs (89 Hausrath) suggests, a goose kept for eggs could be a prized possession among the less well-off.[149]

In wealthier circles it was the goose's meat – and liver – that came to be valued from the late fifth century BC onwards.[150] References to the delights of fatted, stuffed and roasted geese, as well as goose liver, in Athenian stage plays form part of the contemporary discourse on *tryphe* and are preserved especially, as so often, in tantalising if not unproblematic quotations by Athenaios.[151] At about the same time, in the late fifth/early fourth

[148] Semonides (fr. 11 B = Athen. 2.57d); Epicharmus (fr. 152 = Athen. 2.57d).

[149] One might also cite here a papyrus from Roman Egypt that gives 40 drachmas as the value of a sitting goose, equivalent to the price of 20 hens or a labourer's monthly salary; Drexhage considers this an exceptionally high price, suggesting 10 drachmas as a more conservative, minimum estimate, equivalent to a labourer's weekly salary: Drexhage (2001b:15). See also above, n. 78.

[150] Or possibly earlier, as Aesop 277 (Hausrath (1959)) suggests. For geese in Roman and later culture, see Albarella (2005).

[151] Euripides, for example (*Cretan Women*, ap. Athen. 14.640b) refers to Atreus serving goose morsels alongside fish, veal, tartlets and cakes to Thyestes (though the passage is disputed and it has been suggested that the original text might refer to lamb rather than goose). Other passages include 'I bring on a goose so puffed up it is as big as the wooden horse' (Diphilos, around 300 BC); 'But supposing that someone took and stuffed him up for me like a fattened goose' (Epigenes' *Bakchis*, mid fourth century BC); 'And prepare a fattened gosling with it, roasting that also simply' (Archestratos' *Life of Luxury*, around 330 BC); 'Unless you have the liver or mind of a goose' (Euboulos' *Wreath-Sellers, c.* 360 BC), all quoted in Athen. 9.384. The same passage in Athenaios also contains a reference to raising geese (*chēnoboskoi*) from Kratinos' *Dionysalexandros*, dating to around 430 BC. Eubuoulos' *Auge* (396 BC, quoted in Athen. 14.622e) recounts how 'the guests have pulled to pieces hot goslings limb from limb'. When Anaxandrides in his *Protesilaus* (fr. 41, 372, quoted in Athen. 4.131) lists little birds, ducks, ring doves, geese, sparrows, thrushes, larks, jays, swans, pelicans, wagtails and cranes as food served at dinner he mixes the likely with the outlandish; only slightly more realistic perhaps is Antiphanes' menu (fr. 302, quoted in Athen. 2.65e) of 'partridge, ring dove, ducks, geese, starlings, jay, jack-dove, black-bird and quail'. Highly elaborate also is the dinner in Mnesimachos' *Horse-Breeder* (quoted in Athen. 9.403c), which includes goose, pork, beef, lamb, mutton, boar, goat, chicken (*alektron*), duck, jay and partridge. Euboulos' reference (*Prokris*, quoted by Athen. 12.553b) to 'wheat (*chondros*) porridge with goose milk' may refer to goose-grease. Cf. also Xen. *Anab.* 1.9.26. Whether goose down and feathers were used in ancient Greece is unclear; they were certainly used for pillows later in Roman times (e.g. Plin. *Nat.* 10.51–5). Perhaps the profitable sale of dead geese on Delos mentioned earlier (n. 86) indicates that the use of goose feathers goes back at least to the Hellenistic period. On the Athenian discourse on food and luxury, see Davidson (1997); Wilkins (2000:257–311); for the consumption of goose meat as part of a discourse on proper and measured behaviour, in the symposion and elsewhere, see also Rocchi (2004).

century BC, we hear from Hippokrates about goose fat being used in medical preparations.[152] As demand for geese increased, their rearing may have played an increasing role also in regional economies. According to Plato (*Resp*. 264 c), Thessalian nurseries specialised in rearing both geese and cranes (*chēnobōtías ge kaì geranobōtías*). Boiotia, too, seems to have bred geese in its fertile wet plains in the fifth century BC, exporting more than just its famed Copaic eels: 'Make excellent commodities flow to our market, Megarian garlic, early cucumbers, apples, pomegranates and nice little cloaks for the slaves; make them bring geese, ducks, ringdoves and wrens from Boiotia and baskets of eels from Lake Copais; we shall all rush to buy them' (Ar. *Pax* 999–1006).[153] Similarly, partridges – which appear equally both as pets and food – are said to have been farmed in enclosures called *perdikotropheia* during the time of Hypereides (mid fourth century BC) and also pigeons, quails, pheasants, mallards and moorhens [*porphyrion*] were apparently bred and domesticated; many of them are mentioned as food, too, albeit only in the context of highly extravagant dinners.[154] Locally bred or imported, birds were thus among the myriad of goods available on the Athenian Agora for use as pets and food, even if it seems that their status as a commodity was not quite on a par with the many varieties of fish that were prized as delicacies in fifth- and fourth-century comic discourse.[155]

By the time goose sacrifices are first attested in the fifth century BC, then, the goose was clearly an integral part of the Greek (or certainly the Athenian) alimentary system and had acquired a place also in the Greek mind and imagination. In spite of the lingering association of domestic geese with wild geese migrating across the seas, a notion that contributed to the goose's powerful marine symbolism, goose sacrifices thus appear to conform to the general rule of the domesticated character of Greek sacrificial animals.

[152] *Fist*. 7.20; *Haem*. 9.3; *Ulc*. 21.4, *Superf*. 33.1 and several passages in *Mul*. and *Nat.Mul*. On the medicinal uses of various goose products in antiquity, see also Olck (1910:718–21); Bodson and Marcolungo (1994:45–6).

[153] Geese from Boiotia are also mentioned alongside ducks, jackdaws, francolins, coots, plovers, grebes, hares, oregano and pennyroyal in Ar. *Ach*. 878.

[154] *Perdikotropheia:* Hypereides, fr. 45 Jensen, ap. Pollux, *O*. 10.159; other birds: Dalby (1996:63), cf. Athen. 9.394c, 388c. Artemidoros' *Dictionary of Cookery* (Athen. 14.663d–e) refers to a *mattye* (a course during dinner) of birds/chicken (*ornithos*) as well to cooking guinea hens and young cockerels, and a fragment of Menippos' *Arkesilaos* (Athen. 664e) mentions partridges and roasted geese as part of the *mattye* in a Lakonian dinner; the latter passage is discussed in detail by Rocchi (2004). Euboulos and Nikostratos (Athen. 2.65d), finally, refer to meals including ringdoves, thrushes, finches, blackbirds and ducks.

[155] On the great variety of birds eaten by ancient Greeks, see Dalby (1996:63–5).

Ritual, Commensality and Symbolism: Bird Sacrifices in Ancient Greece

As sacrificial animals, geese, chickens and other birds were clearly not on a par with the main sacrificial mammals; nevertheless, they significantly complement our picture of Greek sacrificial rites. Their position in the Greek sacrificial system was determined by a complex interplay of both their status in local alimentary and economic/ecological systems (part of the horizontal communication among human participants of sacrifice), and their symbolic connotations (part of the vertical communication between sacrificer and divine recipient), which linked them with certain concepts and divine personalities or traits more so than is the case for the seemingly 'normative' quartet of sacrificial animals.

Birds, like fish, were clearly less suitable for classic large-scale alimentary commensality at *polis*-wide festivals with their well-known core of bovine, sheep, goat and pig sacrifices – the latter required a large mammal to be sacrificed and divided among gods and humans so as to perform the dual role of petitioning the gods and of enhancing social and political cohesion among the feasting group. By contrast, birds seem predestined for non-commensal high-intensity and purificatory sacrifices, such as became increasingly popular after the Hellenistic period, as well as for small (and relatively cheap) commensal sacrifices performed on more private occasions, where more individual concerns could be expressed.

In spite of these peculiarities, bird sacrifices largely conform to what appears to be a fundamental pattern of Greek ritual practice, its integration into local alimentary systems. This can be seen most clearly when looking at which species of bird were normally sacrificed, be it in commensal *thysiai*, as 'supplementary' food for ritual meals, or in high-intensity destructive rites. The choice is restricted to those birds that were (more or less) domesticated and (more or less) part of human diet, i.e. the classic farm animals goose and chicken, but also semi-domesticated birds like doves and partridges. In addition, goose sacrifices begin to be attested from a time when geese have acquired a certain economic role and status in conspicuous consumption. The earliest instances of cock sacrifices, too, date to this same period, a time when chickens were no longer an exotic oddity or aristocratic plaything, but common farmyard animals.

Much the same pattern also seems to apply in Greece's neighbouring cultures. In Egypt, the geese, ducks and other birds that were sacrificed were domesticated or semi-domesticated, i.e. caught in the wild and then

raised in enclosures.[156] In Hurrian-Luwian and Hittite ritual – of which Greek cultic practice is known to be an heir in many ways – only edible domesticated birds, and in fact especially geese, were sacrificed. This practice is attested at least since the sixteenth century BC, notably in the North Syrian and South Anatolian region. Here, geese were usually a part of burnt offerings (*ambašši*) in expiatory rituals that could also include other animals like lambs and goats and that were associated with *katharsis*, not unlike some Greek high-intensity sacrifices, though they appear also in blood libations and food offerings.[157] Interestingly, in the Old Testament birds – doves or pigeons – appear as burnt as well as 'sin' offerings (where the bird is consumed by the priest), mostly being given by poorer people, thus fitting in with the recurrent theme of the interdependence between economic considerations and choice of sacrificial animal.[158] Yet, looking more widely at the practice of bird sacrifice in other ancient cultures, we also find some differences: Greek sacrificial practice for example, seems to lack a concept of a wider cosmic symbolic value embodied in sacrificial animals, unlike, as has been argued, seventh-century BC Assyria, where bulls, sheep, birds and fishes may have connoted the cosmic realms of earth, sky and ocean.[159]

Does the fact that seemingly only domesticated edible birds were ever sacrificed also imply the reverse, i.e. could such birds only ever be eaten as part of a sacrifice? If animal sacrifice is interpreted as ritualised slaughter, and if the only civilised way of eating domesticated animals is by way of sacrifice, then the same rules should indeed apply to birds and any other domesticated animals that were eaten – and certainly to domesticated birds that were consumed in the context of the Classical *polis*. However, as Ekroth has pointed out (and as is confirmed, from a different perspective, by Larson in the present volume (Chapter 2)), there was a certain flexibility in what constituted the proper, necessary ritual once one moved beyond the bovine-ovicaprine-suine quartet. Indeed, the osteological evidence

[156] Cf. above, ns. 92 and 93. Greek *thysia*, though, differed substantially from Egyptian offerings as the latter lacked the element of wider human commensality and served to provide meals primarily to a god, his priests or – in the case of tomb offerings – the deceased. We may note, however, that an argument for greater hierarchical differentiation in the distribution of sacrificial meat has also been made for the Greek world: Naiden (2012).

[157] Haas (1994:658–64); Minunno (2013); cf. also Strauss (2006:41, 94, 114–15, 135, 155, 275, 301, 322); Mouton in this volume (Chapter 10). I am grateful to Ian Rutherford for pointing out these connections and references.

[158] Minunno (2013:93–107); see e.g. Leviticus 14.22: 'The offering must also include two turtledoves or two young pigeons, whichever the person can afford. One of the pair must be used for the sin offering and the other for a burnt offering'; cf. also Leviticus 14.4, where the birds to be sacrificed are sometimes interpreted as sparrows.

[159] Cf. Maul (2008).

discussed above strongly suggests that in some instances birds formed part of the phenomenon of adding animals such as dogs, fish and sometimes wild animals to the sacrificial feast without a full *thysia* ritual (and perhaps even consuming them outside a sacrifice without any rites?).[160] Moreover, as birds were hardly suited to the regular rituals of burning certain portions of the animal, such as the tail, their sacrifice clearly had to follow different rules, and, as texts and bone finds suggest, they were more suited as supplements to sacrificial meals or at secular feasts – such as the cocks served at the symposion just after they had been sacrificed to Herakles (*Quaest. conv*. 6.10.1) or slaughtered in a thysia specifically for a household feast (Aelian *NA* 5.28).

The commodification of birds in Classical Athens, and their popularity in elaborate Greek dinners, suggests that birds could be killed and consumed with minimal rites only, such as were performed at small domestic sacrifices, and perhaps sometimes even without any. This seemingly less stringent approach to the consumption of bird meat may be partly connected with a lower position of birds in a perceived hierarchy of being, but is best explained in economic terms. If we believe that one central aspect of animal sacrifice was that it constituted the surrender of (communal or personal) wealth to a deity in the form of a 'gift', and that the sacralisation of meat consumption was ultimately related to the status of meat as a highly valued and limited resource, the lower value of geese and other birds entailed a lesser need for the ritualisation of meat distribution, and hence perhaps a different threshold for what would have been deemed proper and acceptable praxis.

The study of bird sacrifice in ancient Greece thus underlines the close link that existed between animal husbandry and sacrificial practice and emphasises the social and economic embeddedness of Greek sacrificial ritual. At the same time, birds – together with fish, game or dogs – occupy a borderline position, where full traditional sacrificial rites were not, or indeed could not, be obeyed, thus further destabilising the notion that 'standard' sacrificial rites were the only way of eating meat in ancient Greece. Rather like votive offerings, bird sacrifices reveal much more explicitly than the 'regular' sacrificial animals the symbolic power inherent in the 'gift' of an animal.[161] It seems that when a bird was chosen as sacrificial animal, typically as an individual offering, this choice was often influenced by the animal's symbolic connotations usually based on a species' character, habitat and history,

[160] Ekroth (2007:208). Even though there may have been different degrees of sacredness/ritualisation, Ekroth (*ibid*., 254–5) argues that there never was such a thing as a purely 'secular' slaughtering of animals, a supposition that Parker (2010c; 2011:131) appears to disagree with.

[161] On sacrificial animals as symbols, see also recently Parker (2011:133–7).

which in turn determined an animal's appropriateness for a certain ritual.[162] Hence, for the goose it was its role as a water bird that was essential and that could operate on multiple levels: aquatic associations with (underground) springs placed it in the realm of the Nymphs or the 'chthonic' world of Demeter and Persephone, while its habitat in river deltas close to the sea and its migratory habits (at least in origin) of crossing the seas gave rise to connotations of seafaring and marine travel and enabled associations with the likes of Hekate, Isis and Aphrodite.[163] In the case of the cock, its liminal character (foreign origins, link with the transition from night to day) and its virile and aggressive behaviour made it particularly suitable for offerings to male heroes and healing deities, and for magical rites. The special appropriateness or resemblance between sacrificial animal and divine recipient enhanced the effectiveness of the gift, and of the communication between human and god.

It has been argued by Georgoudi[164] that matters of economy, prestige and ecosystem are more likely to impact on the choice of sacrificial animal than the personality of the divine recipient, making a special association between certain deities and certain sacrificial animals a problematic concept. The present study supports the centrality of the former factors in many ways; however, in so far as cults and divine personalities are themselves an integral part of any social and economic system and shaped by them, there is perhaps no need to postulate a divide here: as far as birds are concerned, divine personality, in all its fluidity, is clearly a factor in the complex equation.

Finally, the study of bird sacrifice highlights the fact that sacrificial practices were by no means static but subject to constant change. A century or two after its establishment in Greek fowlyards, the exotic cock became a standard offering to Asklepios. Similarly, the increased commodification and alimentary and economic role of domestic geese had a direct impact on their use as sacrificial animals, while the Greek encounter with Egypt was intimately associated with the spread of (holocaustic) bird sacrifices in the Hellenistic period. Animal sacrifice in Greece, from the Archaic to the Roman period, was thus not only fundamentally embedded in local economic and social conditions, but also continuously evolved along with them.

[162] Cf. also Graf (2002:119); and Zografou (2011:163), who equally notes the high symbolic value of bird sacrifices and an exceptional affinity between sacrificial animal and deity.

[163] A similar divine spread with maritime links (Hekate, Aphrodite, Priapos) is also observed in relation to fish sacrifice, see Lefèvre-Novaro (2010:40–1).

[164] Georgoudi (2010a).

PART II

Procedure

CHAPTER 4

Reflections on Sacrifice and Purification in the Greek World

Stella Georgoudi

It is well known and repeatedly suggested that sacrifice is 'the central ritual of Greek religion'. Particularly since the late nineteenth century, this important and polyvalent act, which marks the ritual time of the Greek cities, has become a regular subject of debates, controversies and theoretical re-examinations. Surveyed in its whole or its various aspects and practices, sacrifice covers an integral part of books on the religion of the Greeks, usually as the basic or exclusive material in different works on this topic.[1] Each era or intellectual trend has more or less developed *one* theory on sacrifice, often based on only *one* aspect or element of the sacrificial procedure, as the most relevant. This theory is presented, even unconsciously, as *general*, accounting for *all* kinds of sacrifice, independently of time or space.

Considering historiography, all these attempts to offer a general theoretical interpretation of Greek sacrificial rituals are undoubtedly very interesting and instructive. I had the chance to contribute to *The Cuisine of Sacrifice among the Greeks*, a collective book edited by Marcel Detienne and Jean-Pierre Vernant,[2] an intellectually exciting adventure. I must admit that, even notwithstanding its importance, impact or innovative propositions, this work did not totally avoid the pitfall of generalizations, which inevitably become a source of errors.

This is why, a long time after its publication, it seems meaningful to reconsider *The Cuisine of Sacrifice*, in order to re-examine some ideas and assertions developed in this work. This re-examination has become all the more necessary, even inevitable, as our study on Greek sacrifice had been based essentially on *literary* sources, leaving aside important information from inscriptions, more varied and diversified iconography[3] or from the abundant

[1] See most recently Parker (2011:124–70) (Chapter 5: 'Killing, Dining, Communicating').

[2] Detienne and Vernant (1979) (with essays also by Jean-Louis Durand, Jesper Svenbro, François Hartog and Stella Georgoudi).

[3] For instance, in *The Cuisine of Sacrifice* we privileged a certain number of images, 'compatible' with the sacrificial model developed there. Consequently, we left aside a series of different iconographical

archaeological evidence recently increased by significant osteological material.[4] A new valuable instrument nowadays, required in the interpretation of Greek sacrificial practices, osteology must nevertheless not become in its turn a source of generalizations, as literary evidence did. For example, concerning the controversial meaning of *mêria* or *mêroi* in Greek animal sacrifice ('thighs' or 'thigh bones'?), osteology is of little help, as it has been rightly noted, 'since bones burnt to the state of carbonization or calcination do not reveal *whether they were placed in the fire bare or covered with meat*'.[5]

It is not my intention to repeat here the long discussions and the arguments developed during the 'revisiting' of our positions in *The Cuisine of Sacrifice*. I have already tried (Georgoudi (2005a)) to expose some of these discussions, reflections or new propositions in another collective book which, however, is placed in a larger perspective; it includes comparative studies on sacrifice, concerning not only the Greek and Roman worlds, but also some other Mediterranean cultures.[6] More recently, I attempted to give a summary account of these problems, as an introduction to a paper on the relations between gods and sacrificial animals. From this point of view, and for better understanding the 'intimacy' between a divine receiver and a victim, I took as an example the sacrificial bond linking Zeus and the piglet.[7]

In this chapter, I intend to deal as much as possible with the problem of the relation, in some cases, between sacrifice and purification, and the meaning of what is usually called 'purificatory sacrifice'. This problem will be deliberately preceded, schematically and very rapidly, by another question to which I have referred on other occasions. As a matter of fact, besides the inclination for generalizations, there exists another tendency towards

evidence (vases and reliefs) which could have directed the research towards different conclusions concerning, for example, our theories of the 'concealment of violence', or of the 'consenting' victim in Greek blood sacrifice (cf. note 6, and the judicious remarks of Mehl (2000)).

[4] See Hägg (1998a), one of the first scholars who raised the question of osteological evidence in the study of Greek sacrifice. See now Ekroth and Wallensten (2013).

[5] Ekroth (2009:128) (italics are mine). Notwithstanding this precautionary formulation, Ekroth adopts more willingly the meaning of 'thigh bones'. However, I think that the question remains open and, for different reasons (as from the point of view of the Greek terminology), I prefer for the moment the conclusions drawn by Berthiaume (2005) in his renovated, well-balanced examination of the *mêria*. The idea that *mêria* signifies in principle 'thigh bones' is so predominant, that even the word *kôla* (upper parts of the legs, hams), burnt by Prometheus as the god's portion in Aeschylus (*PV* 496–7), is translated 'thigh bones' in the Loeb edition of the tragedy, a translation adopted, for example, by Griffith (1983:175–6).

[6] Georgoudi, Koch Piettre and Schmidt (2005). On this research and more particularly on the theme of the 'willing' sacrificial victim, see also Naiden (2007) and Georgoudi (2008).

[7] Georgoudi (2010a). This example is part of a larger inquiry into the sacrificial relation between gods and newborn or young animals.

a classification, a division of Greek sacrifices. I am not referring to the never-ending discussion about the 'Olympian'/'Chthonian' sacrificial ritual,[8] but to a kind of binary distinction proposed by some scholars, who consider that Greek sacrifices should be classified into two general categories, each given various names by scholars: on the one hand, 'normal', 'ordinary', 'regular', 'usual', 'standard' sacrifices based on 'common practice'; on the other, sacrifices qualified as 'abnormal', 'unusual', 'extraordinary', 'marginal', 'non-standard', as 'powerful forms of action', 'highlight modifications', or as 'deviations' from the sacrificial 'normality'.

Scholars more or less agree on the main elements in the so-called 'normal', 'ordinary', 'regular', etc. sacrifices: the procession, the prayers, the libations, the offering of grains or cakes, the killing of the animal, the burning of certain parts on the altar, the eating of the roasted *splanchna*, followed by the consumption of the meat *in situ*, or by the distribution of meat, and even by selling the meat raw. Minor consensus exists on what could be defined as 'abnormal', 'unusual', 'extraordinary', 'distorted' or 'deviant' actions or sacrificial rites. One usually mentions, within this group, holocausts, sacrifices to the dead or to heroes, oath-sacrifices, the killing of an animal before battle, purification rites as those discussed below, but also human sacrifice. Michael Jameson formulates clearly this *binary* conception of sacrificial ritual, especially with regard to opposition 'normal'/'deviant': 'To destroy all the victim by fire, that is, holocaust, was an exceptional and vivid expression of *deviation from the norm* . . . Burning some parts and eating the rest . . . was characteristic of *normal sacrifice*; burning all or disposing of the dead animal in some other way characterized types of *powerful actions*'.[9]

I do not consider this kind of binary classification as particularly helpful for our comprehension of Greek sacrifices and purifications, which were characterized by a variety and a complexity of ritual, often hard for us to perceive. In addition, this kind of statement may raise more problems than it resolves. What, in any case, is 'normal' for the Greeks? How do we identify a 'norm' within our different ancient source material, concerning sacrifices and purifications?[10] The holocaust, for example, considered by

[8] See Parker (2011:80–4, 283–6) (with references to earlier studies).

[9] Jameson (1988b:968–9). For Fritz Graf (2002:117), who thinks that 'one should reconstruct an *ideal* type' of sacrifice, the tendency of ritual signs is 'to function in a *binary* way'. Thus, the sacrifice 'as communication by ritual signs is interesting on two levels: on the basic level of the ideal type . . . and on the level of *deviation* from this model' (italics are mine).

[10] I do not intend here to touch, even lightly, the question of 'norms', 'normativity', 'normality' in Greek religion, a subject that has inspired some recent studies. See Brulé (2009); Georgoudi (2010b).

many scholars as a 'total destruction of the victim', is usually ranged among the 'unusual' actions.[11] It should, by the way, be mentioned, that the very term 'destruction sacrifice' has been called into question by Jesper Svenbro (2005). According to his analysis, the combustion of an entire animal, or of shares intended for gods or heroes, does not mean that the victim is wholly or partly 'destroyed' or 'annihilated'. It is rather communicated, by means of combustion, to the supernatural recipients. On the other side, holocausts, which must not be related only to a chthonian context or to powers of chthonian nature, are sometimes performed within the so-called 'normal' or 'regular' sacrifices, as is shown by certain sacrificial calendars (from Kos, Thoricos or Erchia, of the *genos* of the Salaminioi etc.). I do not mean that I have the solution to this extremely complicated problem. I would like only to point out that the important *poikilia* of Greek sacrificial and purificatory practices should make us careful with regard to sharp and dogmatic distinctions or classifications of our evidence.

'Purificatory'/ 'Cathartic Sacrifice'

Let us now come to the main problem stated in this chapter, concerning the association between sacrifice and purification; and particularly the sense of the expression 'purificatory' or 'cathartic sacrifice', often used in a repetitive manner.[12] Before going further, it may be asked whether the Greeks themselves were familiar with such an expression. As far as the vocabulary is concerned, it seems – even if another inquiry is necessary – that the term 'purificatory sacrifice' is both rare and late. It is found, for example, in Dionysius of Halicarnassus and concerns Rome: he mentions the 'supplications made at the statues and altars of gods' and the 'purificatory sacrifices' (καθαρτήριοι θυσίαι) performed in Rome, on behalf of the state and of private households suffering from a pestilential disease.[13] To appease 'divine anger' (χόλος δαιμόνων), considered as the source of such a calamity, cathartic sacrifices were thus indicated, but the modalities of this action combining θυσία and καθαρμός are not described. However, despite the fact that this formula is quasi-absent from Greek vocabulary,

[11] Cf. Scullion (1994:95), who calls holocaust and other forms of 'destruction' of the animal 'renunciatory' sacrifices.

[12] Cf. for example, the classic work of Moulinier (1952:87, 91, 107 etc.) (Moulinier remarks also prudently on p. 110: 'il est dangereux de parler *du* sacrifice cathartique et . . . il faut encore moins chercher à déterminer *sa* forme'). In his equally renowned book, Rudhardt (1958) uses the expression 'sacrifices cathartiques' or 'sacrifices à des fins cathartiques' (Index, s.v. Purifications).

[13] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 9.40.1–2 (there is no reason to translate as '*expiatory* sacrifices' as in the Loeb edition).

sometimes an equivalent expression can be found, denoting the connection between sacrifice and purification, as 'sacrifice (θύειν) a καθάρσιον',[14] or perform 'a sacrifice mingled with purification'.[15] I am not sure if the verb ἐκθύομαι denotes a 'cathartic sacrifice'.[16] The context of different passages, where this verb or its derivative terms appear, indicates rather the idea of 'expiate, expiation', than of 'purify, purification', even if these two notions are very related.[17] Consequently the ἱεροποιοὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐκθύματα in Athens would be the ten officials 'in charge of the expiatory sacrifices', often prescribed by oracles.[18]

I certainly do not intend to present a description of sacrificial or purificatory rituals here. I would like only to point out some assertions and ideas, which, by dint of repetition in different studies, become a kind of stereotype of self-evident formulae accepted by many scholars. To begin with, I generally agree with the approach of Robert Parker in *Miasma*: 'In theory sacrifice and purification may seem to be distinct operations, the one intended to appease a deity and the other to efface an impersonal pollution. In practice, what is spoken of as purification often takes the form of a sacrifice, while the effects of divine anger, at least when it manifests itself as a disease, can sometimes be washed away.'[19] This observation may be right in its general aspect. As a matter of fact, in Greek cult, we have often to do with an 'array of practices that resemble one another in varying degrees and, again in varying degrees, are described in similar terms'.[20] During sacrifices or purifications, people can make the same gestures, make libations with the same materials, invoke gods in the same way, kill animals in the same manner. I wonder whether some purificatory actions acquire a certain autonomy, in respect of sacrifices, even if they imply the ritual killing of an animal. I wonder also whether, in certain cases, we are not to distinguish, in the *same purificatory context*, between on the one hand, different purifying rites and, on the other, sacrifices offered immediately *after*, not in the aim of cleansing, but for other purposes. In these specific cases, I think that the expression 'purificatory sacrifice' is rather inappropriate. Finally, as already mentioned, purification rites are assigned to the

[14] Paus. 1.34.5 (see below).
[15] Plut. *Quest. Graec*. 12, *Mor*. 293E: μεμειγμένην τινὰ καθαρμῷ θυσίαν.
[16] As suggested by Parker (1983:10 n. 42).
[17] See also Casabona (1966:96–7), who translates literally 'faire disparaître au moyen d'un sacrifice' and remarks that the sense of 'cathartic sacrifice' is very late.
[18] Arist. *Ath. Pol*. 54.6, with the remarks of Rhodes (1981:605–6).
[19] Parker (1983:10). I am largely in debt to this fundamental study, even when it happens to diverge somehow from the opinions of its author.
[20] Parker (2011:155).

category of 'unusual', 'extraordinary', 'powerful actions' by scholars. Why should a 'cathartic sacrifice' be defined as a 'powerful action'? It has been suggested that in the case, for example, of purifications, pre-battle or oath sacrifices, the 'power' would reside 'in the killing itself', considered as 'unquestionably central to the slaughter-sacrifice'.[21] Thus, terms such as σφάζω, σφάττω, σφαγιάζω (slaughter), σφάγιον (slaughter-victim), which put the accent on the manner and hence on the act of killing, would be very important in the context of these 'powerful actions'. However, as far as purifications are concerned, these terms do not seem preponderant or exclusive. The animals (often piglets) put to death for purificatory purposes can be 'slaughtered' (σφάζω),[22] but also 'killed' (κτείνω).[23] Sometimes, they are called σφάγια, but they are also designated by the names of καθάρσια (frequently), or καθάρματα.[24] It could be stated that, in purificatory rituals, the accent is not so much on the *act of killing* an animal, but rather on the manipulation of its body and on the use of its blood as washing agent (see below).

Selective Examples

Back to our problem, in order to illustrate, as far as possible, these questions, I would like to focus on some selective examples, which could be enlarged through a more thorough study.

At Elis, the sixteen distinguished women who wove, every fourth year, a robe for Hera and organized games at Olympia, called *Heraia*, seem to assume duties as important as those of the *Hellanodikai*, the chief judges at the Olympic games. This is suggested also by the fact that the two groups, before any ritual action, ought to purify themselves at the spring Piera with a 'piglet meet for purification, and by water' (Paus. 5.16.8: χοίρῳ τε ἐπιτηδείῳ πρὸς καθαρμὸν καὶ ὕδατι). This operation should not be defined as a 'purificatory *sacrifice*', even if it implies, very probably, the killing of the piglet, so as to use its blood. All the terms in this passage (καθαρμός, ἀποκαθαίρω, καθάρσια) refer clearly to a purification accomplished not only by blood, but also by water, the most widespread cathartic

[21] Cf., most recently, Parker (2011: esp. 144, 155, 159, 164).
[22] Cf. *Schol. Ar. Ach.* 44: χοίρου σφαζομένου (slaughtered piglet).
[23] Cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 283: καθαρμοῖς . . . χοιροκτόνοις (purifications by means of killed piglets).
[24] See, for example, σφάγια: Polyb. 4.21.9; Ath. 14. 626f; καθάρσια: Aeschin. 1 (*In Tim.*) 23; App. *BCiv.* 5.10.96; Paus. 1.34.5; Harp. and *Suda*, s.v. καθάρσιον etc.; sometimes the term καθάρσια designates animal victims as well as other materials for purification: Eur. *IT* 1225 (see below), Plut. *Quest. Rom.* 68, *Mor.* 280C; καθάρματα: Hsch. s.v. κάθαρμα; *Schol. Ar. Ach.* 44; *Schol. Ar. Plut.* 454 (referring probably to the purificatory sacrifice of *pharmakoi*), cf. Moulinier (1952:110); Clinton (2005:169).

agent.[25] It must be remembered that we are here in a cult context dominated by the Zeus of Olympia, honoured also, in the Altis, under the epithet of *Katharsios*, as the pre-eminent god of purification (see below).[26]

However, there are more complicated and perplexing texts. In the *Oedipus at Colonus*, the blind Oedipus, accompanied by his daughter Antigone, arrives at the Attic *demos* of Colonos Hippios and walks into a 'sacred place', the grove of Eumenidai, defined as 'untouched and not habitable' (ἄθικτος οὐδ' οἰκητός), 'untrodden' (ἀστιβές), 'speechless, where no word must be spoken' (ἄφθεγκτος). By desecrating the grove of the goddesses, Oedipus commits thus a sacrilege, which must be 'washed out' by a purificatory action. As a matter of fact, the chorus orders Oedipus to make a 'purification of these deities' (καθαρμὸν τῶνδε δαιμόνων), consisting in a series of elaborated acts executed *in fine* by his other daughter, Ismene: three libations, laying of 'thrice nine olive branches' on the ground, prayers.[27]

I will not go into the details of this complicated and controversial ritual, intended to 'purify' not only the Eumenides and their sacred grove, but also Oedipus polluted by his own sacrilege.[28] For our purpose, I will refer only to one point concerning the sense of this purification. Certain scholars, indeed, discussing this point, argue about a *sacrifice* offered to the Eumenides by Oedipus in order to 'purify him from the outrage committed against the goddesses by profaning the grove consecrated to them'.[29] Is this a sacrificial procedure? Can we designate it as a 'purificatory *sacrifice*'? I am not so sure, since in this long passage we find no word of the family of θύειν (to sacrifice), even if the kind of the libations mentioned, the χοαί (lit. pouring out a liquid), are often associated with certain sacrifices.[30] In such ambiguous cases, I wonder if we cannot distinguish, in spite of the possible interference, what kind of action was preponderant for the Greeks, what kind of character they wanted to assign particularly to a ritual at a given context.

[25] Cf. Parker (1983:226–7) (with references).
[26] Pausanias (5.14.8) had seen his altar within the sacred precinct. Cf. Parker (1983:139).
[27] Soph. *OC* 16, 39, 126, 155–6, 461–92.
[28] As is suggested by the old men of the chorus, when they say to Oedipus (v. 490–2) that if he accomplishes this purification, they can willingly 'stand by' him (παρασταίην). On the gods who may be polluted by mortals without suffering by it, see Parker (1983:145–6).
[29] As P. Mazon writes in a note commenting on the word καθαρμός (in his edition of *Œdipe à Colone*, Collection des Universités de France, Paris, 1960, p. 97). This is also, among others, the opinion of Winnington-Ingram (1980), who insists twice on the 'sacrifice to the goddesses' (265–6), although he mentions by the way a 'rite of purification' (250). Cf. Parker (1983:4) (referring to Soph. *OC* 466: 'the sacrifice . . . that remedies the desecration of a sacred grove' is described as *katharmos*), 10 n. 42.
[30] Cf. Rudhardt (1958:246–8).

On the other hand, a purification can be, under certain circumstances, accompanied or followed by a sacrifice. I take my first example from a passage of the twenty-fourth *Idyll* of Theocritus. The scene is the house or palace of Amphitryon and his wife Alcmena, mother of Heracles. This poem, among other themes, narrates the story of the little Heracles who, aged ten months, grappled with and strangled, in his cradle, the two snakes sent by Hera to destroy him. The death of the snakes is the source of pollution for the house and its members. According to the instructions of the seer Teiresias, Alcmena's handmaids burn the bodies of the dead serpents, gather up the ash and cast it out upon the river beyond their borders. Next, for the cleansing of the house, they accomplish a series of operations with pure sulphur, wool, water, salt: materials commonly used in purificatory rites. Finally, they *sacrifice* (ἐπιρρέξαι) to Zeus the Superior, the Highest (καθυπερτέρῳ) a male piglet (ἄρσενα χοῖρον), in order to stay superior to their enemies.[31]

This sacrifice is generally designated by scholars as a 'purificatory sacrifice'.[32] Again, I am not so sure. I think that, in this text, we have a succession of certain purificatory actions, in order to free the house and its inhabitants from the pollution caused by the killing of the two snakes. These actions are followed by a sacrifice practiced in an *already purified* place. The verb designating this sacrifice is ἐπιρρέζω, which signifies 'sacrify or offer besides, furthermore, in addition to',[33] and consequently *afterwards*. As is suggested in Theocritus' text, this sacrifice is not accomplished for cathartic reasons. It is offered to the 'pre-eminent' Zeus and has a specific purpose, namely to give to the palace of Amphitryon and its inhabitants the superiority over the δυσμενεῖς, in the literal sense of the word, 'those who bear ill-will'.[34] Moreover, if the offer of a piglet to Zeus is not surprising (see above, p. 106 and note 7), the particular indication of the animal's sex is perhaps significant. By putting the accent on the 'masculinity' of the victim, one could imply the importance of the *male*

[31] Theocr. *Id.* 24, esp. 88–100. The sacrificial animal is not a 'boar-pig', as is usually translated, for example, in the Loeb edition, or by Gow (1952, vol. I: 189).

[32] Gow (1952, vol. II: 431) seems to agree with this interpretation, since he says, commenting on χοῖρον (v. 99), that 'pigs, though not the only *sacrifice used in purifications*, are particularly connected with them' (italics are mine).

[33] Casabona (1966:63–4) puts the accent on the sense of 'offer'. But the meaning of 'sacrifice', although rare in the inscriptions, is attested in epigraphy (see below).

[34] Cf. Aesch. *Sept.* 226, 234, where we find nearly the same terms about the 'superior power of god' (θεοῦ . . . ἰσχὺς καθυπερτέρα) which protects the states and the peoples against the 'multitude of those bearing ill-will' (δυσμενέων . . . ὄχλον). Note that at the outset of this tragedy (v. 8), Zeus *Alexeterios* ('able to keep off, to defend') is mentioned in the first place, before the other gods.

force as the only one capable of encountering, with Zeus's help, the external dangers.[35]

The relation between purification and sacrifice, as two actions associated but distinct, seems more clear in a 'sacred law', relative to the cult of Alectrona, in the Rhodian city of Ialysos.[36] At the end of a series of prohibitions concerning the shrine of this deity, the text declares: 'if someone does something contrary to this law, he καθαιρέτω καὶ ἐπιρεζέτω the shrine and the precinct, otherwise let him be guilty of impiety' (lines 27–30).

As in the case of Theocritus' text, it is very likely that these are two different rites, designated by two different verbs: the person who commits a transgression of the rules 'must purify' (καθαιρέτω) the sacred property and 'must sacrifice besides' (ἐπιρεζέτω).[37] Once again, this sacrifice would not be 'purificatory', as is sometimes said. After an infraction of the religious rules, an act which causes pollution,[38] the law prescribes not only a purification of the sacred place, but also a sacrifice, no doubt a blood sacrifice, as a kind of penalty for the violation of the established norms.

Cyrene and Selinus

The questions raised by the inscription of Ialysos can be better illustrated by the great Cathartic Law of Cyrene (*c.* 335–324 BCE), which provides a very significant example of distinct ritual practices following one another closely.[39] I point out only one passage, indicative of this succession of acts:[40] 'If one sacrifices upon the altar a victim that the law does not [permit] to sacrifice, one must take away the residue of the fat (*potipiamma*)[41] from the altar and wash it off, and must take up the other

[35] Cf. Aesch. *Sept.* 230–1: for Eteocles, only the men can slaughter animals for the gods and take oracles, when they encounter enemies.

[36] *LSCG* 136 (*c.* 300 BCE). On the inappropriate term 'sacred law', cf. Georgoudi (2010b).

[37] Casabona (1966:64) translates loosely: 'qu'il fasse (en outre?) une offrande'. But the verb ἐπιρρέζω in the sense of 'sacrifice' an animal is clear, for example, at Cos: *LSCG* 156 B 19, *IG* XII, 4, 332 B 62.

[38] Cf. Parker (1983:144).

[39] Among a multitude of studies, I will merely mention Parker (1983:332–51) (with translation and previous bibliography), and more recently Robertson (2010 (Greek text with translation and up-to-date bibliography)).

[40] Column A 26–31. I follow the Greek text given by Robertson. I translate the Greek text literally, taking also into account the translations of Parker and Robertson.

[41] For the controversial sense of the word ποτιπίαμμα, see *DELG* s.v. πῖαρ, with the remarks of Robertson (2010:297). On sacrificing a non-customary victim, cf. Rhodes and Osborne (2003:503).

off-scourings from the shrine and the ash from the altar, and must take away the fire to a pure [place]; and then (καὶ τόκα δή) after cleansing oneself by rubbing,[42] after purifying the shrine and sacrificing as a penalty a full grown animal, at that moment let one sacrifice (τόκα δὴ θυέτω) as the law [prescribes]'.

As Parker rightly remarks (1983:339): 'in this case the illicit sacrifice pollutes the sacrificer as well as the shrine'. In order to make atonement, the guilty person must cleanse himself and the shrine by a series of purificatory acts followed by two kinds of sacrifices, which no longer have a cathartic character since sacrificer and sacred place are already purified: the first sacrifice is offered to the divinity so as to indemnify her for having immolated an illicit victim on her altar; at the end of the second sacrifice, one would be reintroduced to the sacrificial legal procedure and be allowed to immolate a victim prescribed by the law. It is also to be noticed that the victim offered as a penalty is a full-grown animal, while the purificatory victims are, in their great majority, very young animals (see below).

The whole operation thus includes different actions that take place in a succession of different moments. What matters here is that the sacrificial rites come *after* the various purificatory practices; they are associated but not contemporaneous with them. On the other hand, time is emphasized by the word τόκα (then, at that moment). From this point of view, we could compare this clause of the Cyrenaic Law with a 'sacred law' of Delphi that prohibits taking wine outside the stadium. If one breaks this religious rule, one must 'propitiate' (ἱλαξάστω) the god and μεταθυσάτω and pay a fine of five drachmas.[43] Now, scholars do not agree on the sense of the verb μεταθύω in this context. They propose different translations according to the meaning they give to the preposition μετά: for example, 're-start the sacrifice', 'change sacrifice', that is 'sacrifice differently', 'make an offering in its place (*sc*. in the place of the wine taken away)'.[44] Without developing this discussion, we could compare μεταθυσάτω with the expression τόκα δὴ θυέτω of the Cyrene passage and consider μετά as indicating the time; we could translate: 'and sacrifice *afterwards*'. After having transgressed the law, one must propitiate, appease the god (by some acts not described), and *then* offer to him a sacrifice (as a kind of penalty?). In Delphi, propitiation and reparation are required by the religious regulation, rather than purification[45] as at Cyrene.

[42] For the precise meaning of the verb ἀπονίπτομαι, see *DELG* s.v. *νίζω*.
[43] *LSCG* n° 76 = Rougemont (1977:11–15, n° 3).
[44] See Rougemont (1977:14–15); Jacquemin, Mulliez and Rougemont (2012:49–50, n° 23).
[45] For Casabona (1966:102), the verb ἱλαξάστω would imply the sense of 'purify', since he writes that the sacrifice is 'offert après certaines cérémonies de purification'. Nevertheless, we have to do with

The important and very complex '*lex sacra*' from Selinus, which has given rise to long and controversial discussions since its publication and will continue to puzzle and confuse scholars,[46] offers similar cases of time differentiation between purification and sacrifice. I merely point out two passages very briefly, discussed also by Clinton (2005), with whom I mostly agree. In both circumstances, the question is about the *nature* of the sacrifice offered by a guilty person,[47] who wishes to purify himself and get rid of his *elasteros*.[48] In the first passage (B 5–7), this person, 'having sacrificed (θύσας) a piglet to Zeus', is free to go out from his host,[49] turn around, be addressed, take food and sleep wherever he wishes. In the second passage (B 7–11), anyone who wishes to purify himself must act in the same way as does the *houtorectas*: 'having sacrificed (θύσας) a full-grown animal on the public altar', he is regarded as pure (καθαρὸς ἔστο).

These two sacrifices have been, more or less, considered by some scholars as cathartic.[50] But, as Clinton has rightly observed, the sacrifice of the piglet to Zeus 'is a normal one; it marks the purificand's re-entry into normal life, as do the other actions listed next – turning around, being addressed, etc'.[51] Lupu shares the same opinion: this sacrifice 'is not performed as a part of the purificatory ritual but rather after purification is completed, indicating that the homicide is now engaging in normal activity as an unpolluted person'.[52] And it is 'even clearer' that the second

the semantic field of ἱλάσκομαι, not with that of καθαίρω. Finally, for P. Fournier (*REA* 24, 1922:11–12), μεταθυσάτω could suggest the idea of an expiatory sacrifice intending to 'changer (μετα-) les dispositions du dieu courroucé' (cf. *Nouveau choix d'inscriptions grecques*, by the Institut Fernand-Courby, Paris (1971, n° 18), where μεταθυσάτω is translated as follows: 'qu'on lui offre un sacrifice expiatoire'). But this is rather the function of ἱλάσκομαι.

[46] See Jameson, Jordan and Kotansky (1993). New study and recent bibliography by Robertson (2010).

[47] I set aside the *quasi*-insoluble problem of the definition and the exact meaning of the word *h*οὐτορέκτας (= αὐτορ(ρ)έκτας), in B line 9, translated by most scholars as 'homicide'. I prefer, following Dubois (1995:144), 'coupable'), to translate by the general term 'guilty', even if this word ultimately refers to a murderer (see, more recently, Dubois (2008:56), where he notes: 'On pourrait le traduire par "auteur personnellement responsable d'un acte", c'est-à-dire "meurtier"'). Cf., in similar sense, Dobias-Lalou (1997:266) ('qui agit lui-même'), Giuliani (1998:78) ('autore diretto'). Robertson (2010:28) interprets the *h*οὐτορέκτας as the one 'slaying with his own hand'.

[48] On these multivalent entities, called *Elasteroi/Alasteroi*, see most recently Patera (2011).

[49] As Clinton (1996:176) rightly says, this person (B 3–4) should be the purifier. According to Dubois (2008:60), it is the host who moves away from the *houtorectas*.

[50] Cf. Dubois (2008:60, 63), Detienne (1998:230–1), Giuliani (1998:75, only the first sacrifice), Dimartino (2003 [2006]:324–5, 327–8).

[51] Clinton (2005:174–5), rectifying his first opinion (1996:176) according to which the victim would be a purificatory one, a καθάρσιον. Already the editors of the inscription had correctly noticed: 'Here, however, there is no indication that this is not a normal sacrifice to Zeus' (Jameson, Jordan and Kotansky (1993:43)). On purificatory rituals followed by 'a concluding sacrifice', in the laws of Cyrene and Selinus, cf. Bendlin (2007:186–7).

[52] Lupu (2005:384).

sacrifice 'is posterior to purification … it occurs after purification', as Clinton affirms, assuming that θύσας and καθαρὸς ἔστο 'represent a single moment, with θύσας, the act of sacrifice, signaling the state of purity'.[53] As a matter of fact, since these sacrifices are performed by none other than the one requiring purification, with respect to his *elasteros* who persecutes him, we can reasonably say that this person could not be allowed to sacrifice to the gods before becoming pure[54] according to the Greek religious norms.[55] Against this interpretation, it may be maintained that someone, even tainted by homicide, could take part in worship, approach the gods and offer sacrifices. As a proof of this, scholars refer in particular to a passage of Demosthenes and to the story of the purification of Achilles from the murder of Thersites.[56] According to the orator, anyone who had committed an 'involuntary murder' (ἀκούσιος φόνος) and was banished from Athens could not return before 'he had sacrificed and been purified' (θῦσαι καὶ καθαρθῆναι).[57] As for Achilles, his purification is briefly recorded in an episode of *Aethiopis*, summarized by Proclus: having killed Thersites, Achilles sailed to Lesbos, where, 'having sacrificed (θύσας) to Apollo and Artemis and Leto, he is purified (καθαίρεται) of murder by Odysseus'.[58]

In the two references, the verb 'sacrifice' is mentioned before the verb 'purify', as if sacrifice precedes purification. In the face of this kind of ambiguity, Robertson, commenting on the text of Demosthenes, makes a judicious remark: 'the order of words need not be the order in time'.[59] In fact, an author can use and order his words loosely, without necessarily adapting the structure of his narration to the order followed by cult actions during the ritual time. There is another difficulty: given the fact that, in these two passages, the sacrificer is presented as the guilty person itself, it follows that the sacrifice is performed by an *impure* individual. Such an act would be quite improbable since, according to general Greek rules, murderers were excluded from sanctuaries and sacred places. It is sufficient to recall here that in Book 9 of his *Laws*, Plato emphasizes this interdiction clearly, concerning either an 'involuntary' killer, or whoever slays 'wrongfully and of design'. The first could not venture 'to go to any of

[53] Clinton (2005:175). I came back to these two sacrifies in Georgoudi (2015:235–9).
[54] Even if he no doubt must complete, bring to perfection this state of purity by marking the space with salt and performing aspersion with a golden vessel (B 11) – salt and gold being important cathartic agents.
[55] As early as the *Iliad* (cf. 1. 313–17), the Achaeans must cleanse themselves well (ἀπολυμαίνεσθαι) and throw the off-scourings into the sea before they sacrifice to the gods.
[56] Cf. Stengel (1920:157). Cf. Parker (1983:114, 131 n. 102, 138).
[57] Dem. (23) *Against Aristocr.* 72.
[58] Procl. *Chrest.* 105. 27, in Severyns (1928:317–18) (without further commentary).
[59] Robertson (2010:368).

the temples and sacrifice unpurified (ἀκάθαρτος ὤν)'; the second is forbidden to 'pollute' (μιαίνων) by his presence 'the temples, or the agora, or the harbours, or any other place of meeting'.[60] Demosthenes himself is perfectly aware of this kind of interdiction, when he says clearly, in another speech, that people 'having hands not clean' (οἱ μὴ καθαρὰς τὰς χεῖρας ἔχοντες) could not even enter the agora.[61]

Purificatory and Sacrificial Order

Thus, the examples mentioned above bear on various purificatory rites followed by sacrifices of different natures, but not of *cathartic* character. Sometimes, instead of diverse cleansing actions at the beginning, we may have a clearly purificatory sacrifice, *after* which comes another sacrifice, not cathartic. It seems that this is the case in the Amphiareum near Oropos, where a divination was practised by dreams (δι' ὀνειράτων μαντικήν), according to Pausanias' description (1.34.5): 'One who has come to consult Amphiaraus is wont first to purify himself (καὶ πρῶτον μὲν καθήρασθαι).' To do that, he must 'sacrifice to the god a καθάρσιον, and they sacrifice not only to him but also to all those whose names are on the altar.[62] And *when all these things have been done first* (προεξειργασμένων δὲ τούτων), they sacrifice a ram (κριόν) and, spreading the fleece under them, they go to sleep, awaiting the manifestation of a dream.'

If I understand this passage, it refers to two sacrifices. The animal immolated during the *first*, in honour of Amphiaraus and all the others, is a καθάρσιον, a purificatory victim; we have therefore to do with a *cathartic* sacrifice. The *second* sacrifice is performed *after* accomplishing all these preliminary acts; the victim this time is a ram, immolated no doubt for Amphiaraus, the diviner and healer god. According to Kevin Clinton, this ram could be the καθάρσιον, because 'it is the fleece, however, that ought to provide the purification, just as the "fleece of Zeus" (Διὸς κώδιον) does in other settings'.[63] On the contrary, in his renewed study on

[60] Pl. *Laws* 9, 886a and 871a. If the question of 'how murder pollution is incurred' is complicated (cf. Parker (1983:111)), there is no hesitation about the necessity of purifications. Cf. Morrow (1960:424) on the καθαρμοί mentioned in 'all the forms of homicide distinguished in Platonic law'.

[61] Dem. (24) *Against Timocr.* 60.

[62] These names are given by Pausanias in 1.34.3. They include gods and goddesses, heroes and heroines. On the altar and the complexity of the associations between these divine and heroic powers, see Sineux (2007: esp. 86–9, 136–48), and most recently, with particular emphasis on these figures, Polignac (2011).

[63] Clinton (2005:175 and n. 46) evokes Harrison who actually affirms that 'here again, though the name is not used, we have a δῖον κώδιον, a magical fleece with *purificatory* properties' (1922:27–8, italics

Amphiaraus, Pierre Sineux reasonably rejects this comparison, or even this identification between the Διὸς κώδιον and the fleece of the ram, which is not necessary here. Nevertheless, in the sacrifice of the ram he proposes to see 'un rite purificatoire et peut-être propitiatoire'.[64] Firstly, I think that we must respect the narrative order of this passage, which seems clear enough: in what must 'be done before (τὰ προεξειργασμένα)', that is *before* the sacrifice of the ram, Pausanias includes the sacrifice of the καθάρσιον, which would be an animal different from the ram, perhaps a piglet, a typical purificatory victim. By means of all these actions (τούτων), the consultant is thus purified and ready to sacrifice the ram to the god. Secondly, to sleep on the fleece of the sacrificial animal offered to the divinity can probably create, as Sineux thinks, an 'isolement simbolique' with regard to the rest of the world. However, I would say in addition that this contact, this physical touch between the body of the *already purified* patient and the fleece of the ram immolated to the god brings the human and the divine agent closer together, creating a particular bond between them, liable to facilitate the apparition of a dream sent by Amphiaraus during this incubation practice with its healing function.[65]

If Pausanias' text reveals the existence of two different sacrifices, in other cases it is more difficult to distinguish between a purification process and a sacrifice with no cathartic scope in the same context. When Theseus, having killed a series of robbers and criminals, came to the river Cephisus, he was met by men of the *genos* of Phytalidai. They greeted him first (πρῶτοι), unaware of his deeds, but immediately Theseus 'asked to be purified (δεομένου καθαρθῆναι)' from bloodshed. The Phytalidai then, 'having cleansed him with the customary rites, and having sacrificed *meilichia*, feasted him at their house'.[66] Pausanias (1.37.4) also mentions an altar at which Theseus 'obtained purification (καθαρσίων ἔτυχε) by the descendants of Phytalos'.

Obviously, it is not easy to analyse such concise texts. Rudhardt, without hesitation, describes the action of the Phytalidai as a 'sacrifice cathartique',

mine). Concerning the 'fleece of Zeus', on which 'the candidate for purification sometimes stood', see Parker (1983:373).

[64] Sineux (2007:176–7, at 176).

[65] However, it must be noticed that the modalities described by Pausanias do not correspond to other testimonies from the same sanctuary, as for example, the detailed 'sacred law' with different cult regulations including incubation (*IG* VII 235 = *LSCG* 69 = Rhodes and Osborne (2003:129–34, n° 27)). In this important document (387–371 BCE), there is no mention of two sacrifices or of sleeping on a fleece, an element also absent from certain reliefs with scenes of incubation. On these problems related with probable cult modifications and changes during the ages, see Sineux (2007: esp. 137–42, 165–74).

[66] Plut. *Thes*. 12.1: τοῖς νενομισμένοις ἁγνίσαντες καὶ μειλίχια θύσαντες εἱστίασαν οἴκοι.

followed by a meal, one of those 'cathartic sacrifices offered more often to Zeus Meilichios . . . The Phytalidai performed this sacrifice, in order to free Theseus of the pollution of many murders'. Moulinier shares the same opinion, when he wrote that the Phytalidai addressed to Zeus 'un sacrifice cathartique', offering to him μειλίχια, 'mild, propitiatory offerings', so as to appease the god.[67] Neither Moulinier nor Rudhardt cites or comments on the phrase 'having cleansed him with the customary rites' (τοῖς νενομισμένοις ἁγνίσαντες). It seems that both authors identify in the passage of Plutarch the function of the two verbs, ἁγνίσαντες and θύσαντες, thinking very probably that they refer to *one* and the *same* action, defined as 'cathartic sacrifice'. I propose a different interpretation by considering *two* actions, obviously interdependent, but nevertheless distinct: the Phytalidai purify (ἁγνίσαντες)[68] Theseus by means of the usual rites (τοῖς νενομισμένοις), and *after* that, they perform in all likelihood a bloodless *propitiatory* sacrifice, by offering Zeus what can render him favourable, gentle, kind, 'sweet as honey'.[69]

Interaction between 'Kathairô' and 'Thuô'

Now, if in certain cases it is possible to perceive the nuances or the shifts in meaning between 'purify' (καθαίρω) and 'sacrifice' (θύω), in other situations it is not easy to understand the difference. First of all, there are sacrifices with a clearly purificatory function, as the sacrificial ritual conceived by Epimenides in order to cleanse the city of Athens attacked by plague: 'He purified their city (ἐκάθηρε αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν), and stopped the pestilence in the following way. He took sheep, some black and others white, and brought them to the Areopagus; and there he let them go whither they pleased, ordering those who followed them to sacrifice to the god whom it beseems (θύειν τῷ προσήκοντι θεῷ) [on the spot] where each sheep lay down; and thus the evil (τὸ κακόν) ceased.'[70] Here the purification assumes the form and no doubt the modalities of a sacrificial action. That this action also had a propitiatory aspect and was addressed to *anonymous* gods is shown by Diogenes Laertius, when he says in the same passage: 'Hence even to this day, in different demes of the Athenians,

[67] Rudhardt (1958:271); Moulinier (1952:309).
[68] On the verb ἁγνίζω and its meanings, see Parker (1983:329).
[69] On the different acceptations of the word μείλιχος/μειλίχιος, associated, by popular etymology, with μέλι, honey, see *DELG* s.v. μείλια. On the Phytalidai, cf. Parker (1996a:169–70, 318); on Zeus Meilichios in general, cf. Cusumano (1991) and (2006).
[70] Epimenides of Crete, *FGrHist* 457 T 1 Jacoby (*ap*. Diog. Laert. 1.110). Cf. Parker (1983:209–10).

anonymous altars may be found, which are memorials of the propitiation accomplished then (βωμοὺς ἀνωνύμους ὑπόμνημα τῆς τότε ἐξιλάσεως).'[71]

Similarly, the ritual of purification by Circe of Jason and Medea in the fourth book of the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius (4.690–717) shows the interaction between sacrificial and purificatory terms. Polluted by their murder of Medea's brother, Jason and Medea reached the palace of Circe and sat at the hearth, quiet and silent, 'as is the custom of baneful suppliants' (δίκη λυγροῖς ἱκέτῃσι). Circe understood immediately that Medea was guilty of murder and, in respect for the justice of Zeus, god of suppliants, she 'performed the kind of sacrifice (ῥέζε θυηπολίην) by which pitiless suppliants are cleansed (ἀπολυμαίνονται)', when they approach a person's hearth: she stretched above (καθύπερθε) Jason and Medea a suckling pig, 'and wet their hands with its blood as she slit its throat; then with other libations (χύτλοισι), she propitiated Zeus, invoking him as the Purifier (Καθάρσιον), as the Zeus of murderers (Παλαμναῖον), as the Respecter of supplications (Τιμήορον ἱκεσιάων)'.[72] Then the Naiads, Circe's attendants, carried out of the house 'all defilement' (πάντα ... λύματα), while within, 'by the hearth' (παρέστιος), Circe burned 'cakes and offerings that soothe' (πελανοὺς μείλικτρά τε), saying 'wineless prayers' (νηφαλίῃσιν ... εὐχωλῇσι),[73] in order to placate the anger of the terrible Erinyes and render Zeus himself propitious and gentle to Jason and Medea. Having completed these tasks, Circe raised and sat them on polished seats, and asked in detail about their story (v. 718–23).

This text provides a good example of sacrificial and purificatory practices in unison. The cathartic action is even designated by the term θυηπολίη,[74]

[71] The usual translation of the expression τῷ προσήκοντι θεῷ by: 'to the local divinity', 'to the divinity of that area', 'au dieu du voisinage', 'al dio del luogo', does not look very faithful to the Greek text. Cf. Federico (2001: esp. 113). Robertson (2010:112 n. 22) translates more exactly: 'to the appropriate god', but he thinks that 'this is only for the sake of the story', because he attributes the 'nameless altars' to the 'nameless goddesses', that is the *Semnai Theai* of the Areopagus (p. 107 n. 4, 112 n. 22). However that may be, Diogenes Laertius says nothing, in 1.110, about the offering by Epimenides of 'sheep both black and white to the *Semnai Theai*', as Robertson affirms (2010:134 n. 23). On Epimenides, the 'nameless altars' and the Semnai Theai, cf. also Henrichs (1994:35–9) and Johnston (1999:279–87).

[72] Concerning the two last qualifications of Zeus (v. 709), the text is uncertain. I follow the readings and the translation of F. Vian: cf. the apparatus criticus, with the commentary (pp. 173–4), in his edition of *Apollonios de Rhodes, Argonautiques*, Collection des Universités de France, Paris (1996).

[73] We have here what is called, in grammar, hypallage: the 'wineless' applies to the offerings, as in Aesch. *Eum.* 107, where the Erinyes receive also 'wineless soothing offerings' (νηφάλια μειλίγματα). On the 'sober libations', see now the thorough study of Pirenne-Delforge (2011).

[74] According to Casabona (1966:120–1), the verb θυηπολεῖν, 'sacrifier', is attested for the first time in Aeschylus (*Ag.* 262) as a 'simple substitut poétique de θύειν'. But the substantive θυηπολία, Ion. –ίη, belongs to a small group of terms created by the *koinè*. Parker (2011:158) rightly says that 'the killing

'sacrifice'; from this point of view, we can speak about a 'purificatory sacrifice'. Nevertheless, we are not in an 'ordinary' sacrificial context: the animal is not addressed to a divine or heroic recipient,[75] his blood does not wet the altar, but the two suppliants. On this point, I would like to observe that Circe seems to hold the bleeding young animal *above the heads* of the guilty persons, as suggested by the adverb καθύπερθε, 'above, from above'. We can compare this gesture with the few images concerning the purification of Orestes by Apollo at Delphi, where the god is shown holding the piglet precisely *over the head* of the matricide.[76] The same posture is seen on an engraved gem, where a bearded man holds the small animal *over the head* of one of three maidens, shown in a rather strange, uncoordinated attitude. According to some scholars, the scene represents the purification of Proetus' mad daughters by Melampus, a version not found, to my knowledge, in literary sources.[77] These kinds of document give the impression that the blood of the purificatory victim must *inundate* the whole polluted person, even if, in the case of murder, the accent is often put on the killer's hands (χεῖρες).

Let us now pay more attention to a significant, in my opinion, detail of this long passage of Apollonius. What would be, indeed, the sense of the libations and invocations addressed by Circe to Zeus? Were they performed in order to *complete* 'the purification itself'?[78] In this case, they would be considered *part* of the purificatory action, as Ginouvès believed,[79] for whom the word χύτλοισι of the verse 708 did not designate 'drink offerings', but 'des effusions d'eau': Circe would purify Jason and Medea by 'pouring the blood of the piglet onto the hands of the murderers, then by washing them with water'. Anyway, in this passage, Apollonius says nothing about a purification by water, while the term χύτλοισι here is

itself . . . is not *described* as a sacrifice' (italics are mine); but the text makes clear that this killing is part of an act *called* 'sacrifice'.

[75] Clinton (2005:175) remarks that 'purificatory victims were not designated to specific gods', which is generally right. However, the case of Epimenides poses some problems, even if the gods, to whom the sheep are sacrificed, are not 'specified' (see above).

[76] Orestes: Dyer (1969, Plate II, figs. 1 and 2); but cf. Plate IV, fig. 6, where the god holds the animal in front of Orestes.

[77] Gem: Paris, Cabinet de Medailles, first century BCE. Cf. also a vase from Sicily, known as the Canicattini krater (fourth century BCE), where a naked young man is presented slaughtering a piglet over the heads of demented maidens, identified by scholars as Proetus' daughters (see Schneider-Herrmann (1970:59–61, 67 fig. 1)). In general, the 'healer-seer' (ἰατρόμαντις) Melampus cures the maidens by means of 'drugs and purifications' (διὰ φαρμάκων καὶ καθαρμῶν): Apollod. 2.2.2; cf. Paus. 5.5.10. Pausanias 8.18.7 speaks also of 'secret sacrifices' (θυσίαις ἀπορρήτοις), without any other precision.

[78] As thinks Parker (1983:370). [79] Ginouvès (1962:322 with n. 12).

clearly related to Zeus.[80] However that may be, I am inclined to think that these libations and invocations belong rather to the rites of appeasement performed *after* the actual purification of the suppliants by blood. At *this* moment (and not when she slits the animal), Circe invokes Zeus, but not only in his role as *Katharsios*, as the Purifier of polluted persons. By means of libations, she wants to 'render mild' (μείλισσεν, v. 708) three kinds of Zeus, associated with purifications, murderers and supplications.[81] These propitiatory libations could not be separated from the *whole* ritual that Circe performs by the hearth, burning 'cakes and offerings that soothe' and saying 'wineless prayers', in order to appease both the Erinyes and Zeus himself. Anyway, having been cleansed by blood, during the 'purificatory sacrifice', Jason and Medea need also to be accepted by the offended divine powers, whose propitiation permits them now to abandon their silent attitude of prostrate suppliants, to rise and answer the questions of their hostess and purifier.

The Case of Heracles

The use of an animal victim by Circe, as a potent cathartic agent, is cited sometimes by scholars as an argument for interpreting a controversial passage in the *Heracles* of Euripides (v. 922–41). As is well known, during the absence of Heracles, supposed to be in the Underworld in order to abduct the dog Cerberus from Hades, the tyrant Lycus has decided to eliminate Heracles' family, killing his father, his wife and his three male children. Finally, Heracles arrives at the most critical moment, kills Lycus and saves his *oikos*. Having flung the corpse of his enemy outside the palace, Heracles undertakes to purify the house. This purification, as reported by the Messenger, takes the form of a sacrifice, as suggested by the mention of different elements belonging to the sacrificial practice and context: the altar (that of Zeus),[82] the basket (κανοῦν) which passes in a circle round the altar, the torch (δαλός) which Heracles is about to dip in the lustral water (χέρνιψ), the reverent attitude of the participants. At this moment Heracles is attacked suddenly by madness, becomes

[80] The word χύτλα can sometimes signify water for washing, the bath (cf. Lycoph. *Alex*. 1099), but it means, in general, 'what is poured out', as the libations: see *DELG* s.v. χέω.

[81] Cf. v. 700–1: the Zeus of Suppliants (Ἱκέσιος) 'is a god of wrath, yet mightily aids slayers of men' (trad. Loeb).

[82] On this altar, called both ἐσχάρα and βωμός, cf. Rudhardt (1958:270), who reasonably attributes this altar to Zeus *Herkeios*. The altar of this Zeus would be within the house, in the middle of the internal courtyard called ἕρκος. On Zeus *Herkeios*, cf. Parker (2005: esp. 16–18). On the terms ἐσχάρα and βωμός, cf. Ekroth (2002: *passim*).

uncontrollable and kills his wife and children, believing that he is eliminating Eurystheus' sons.

Now, the question raised by this passage concerns the exact nature of the ritual that Heracles is preparing to perform. This depends particularly on how scholars approach and interpret the rather vague expression ἱερὰ . . . καθάρσια, at the beginning of the *rhesis* of the Messenger.[83] Foley perfectly summarizes the *communis opinio*: 'Heracles' purification is a full sacrificial procedure with *animal victims* rather than a purification with fire and water . . . the term ἱερὰ . . . καθάρσια (922–3) could be interpreted to include animal victims.'[84] This interpretation gave rise to theories about 'the failure of the sacrifice', or 'the perverted sacrifice': Heracles, struck down by murder-madness, fails to sacrifice the animal victims, but slaughters human beings; the animal sacrifice becomes a violent and polluting 'human sacrifice'.[85]

Anyway, beyond these theories, the ambiguous and laconic character of these verses render any interpretation uncertain. Nevertheless, I consider less probable '*animal* sacrifice'. In the first place, if the sacrificial basket is reported by the Messenger, there is no indication of the sacrificial knife. I do not consider its mention always necessary in the description of blood sacrifices, but its presence would be suitable for a scene so marked by violence.[86] In the second place, the vague expression mentioned above must be taken as a whole: ἱερὰ . . . καθάρσια *οἴκων*, which could be translated literally as, 'the sacred means of purification *of the house*', set in

[83] For more clarity, I cite the verses 922–4 with the translation of Barlow (1996): ἱερὰ μὲν ἦν πάροιθεν ἐσχάρας Διὸς | καθάρσι' οἴκων, γῆς ἄνακτ' ἐπεὶ κτανὼν | ἐξέβαλε τῶνδε δωμάτων Ἡρακλέης·, 'Offerings were set in front of Zeus's altar to purify the house after Heracles had killed the king and flung his body outside the palace.'

[84] Foley (1985:153 n. 11) (italics mine), followed by Barlow (1996:166 and Papadopoulou (2005:11)). Referring to this passage, other scholars speak more generally, for example, of 'lustral sacrifice celebrated by Heracles for the murder of Lycus' (Moulinier 1952:88), or of 'Heracles who sacrifices to Zeus *Herkeios* in order to purify himself from the murder of Lycus' (Rudhardt 1958:270). Parker, more careful, remarks (1983:114 n. 39): 'The ritual envisaged is unclear . . . but what Heracles seems to be preparing is a normal sacrifice'; cf. in the same sense, Bond (1981:308).

[85] The discussion of these theories is outside the scope of this paper. See especially Foley (1985:152–67), Papadopoulou (2005:10–34). Cf. most recently Naiden (2013a:78 and note 214), who, referring to the verses 922–30 of the play, speaks of an 'interrupted sacrifice', where the victim 'that Heracles thinks' to immolate was a 'sheep'. However no 'sheep' or other animal is mentioned or suggested in this passage or in the following verses. And even if the third child, whom the 'suffering mother' tries desperately to save from the furious Heracles, is called *thuma* by the Messenger (v. 995), the use of this sacrificial term says nothing about the alleged presence of an animal victim, proved 'to be his own children'. In fact, despite this term, Heracles does not 'treat the children as sacrificial victims' (so Foley (1985:158)), brandishing against them sacrificial instruments, such as a knife or an axe. He chased his sons as his enemies, striking them with his arrows and his club. We are far from a 'sacrificial' scene, 'perverted' or not.

[86] On the knife and the theme of violence in Greek sacrifices, cf. Georgoudi (2005a).

front of Zeus's altar.[87] Heracles is perhaps prepared to accomplish a purificatory 'sacrifice'; but, in the whole passage (v. 922–41), the emphasis is not put on some supposed animal victims (nowhere mentioned, as has been said before), but on fire (and probably on water).[88] By means of the fire (πῦρ), mentioned twice, Heracles is about to purify his *oikos*, and also himself, as it is said clearly, later in the play: having recovered his mind, Heracles asks his father at what moment the sting (οἶστρος) of madness attacked him. 'When, by the altar, you were purifying your hands *with the fire*',[89] responds Amphitryon. Moreover, it is significant that the verb 'sacrifice' (θύω) is, in this context, associated with fire, not with animal victims. In the madness scene, Heracles speaks to Amphitryon in these terms, according to the Messenger's narration (v. 936–40): 'Father, why am I sacrificing purificatory fire (τί θύω ... καθάρσιον πῦρ), before I kill Eurystheus? Why am I making double labor? ... When I bring back here the head of Eurystheus, then I shall purify my hands (ἁγνιῶ χέρας) for those just killed.' One could certainly say that θύω signifies here 'offer' or even 'light' the cleansing fire.[90] However, in this puzzling text of the *Heracles*, where sacrifice and purification are continuously mingled, the question is on what aspect or element Euripides aimed to put the accent. If that is the case, the purification by fire, both of the house and of the hero himself,[91] could constitute, in this passage, one of the themes emphasized voluntarily by the tragic poet.

[87] As is said above (n. 24), the term καθάρσια can designate different purificatory materials or means (including animal victims), but it may also signify 'purification' in general, as in Paus. 5.16.8 (purification of the Sixteen women at Elis, see above). Similarly, the word καθάρσιον can designate an animal used in purification as well as the cathartic action itself; cf. Hdt. 1.35: Adrastus, after the involuntary murder of his brother, arrived at the palace of Croesus and 'asked for obtaining purification' (καθαρσίου ἐδέετο κυρῆσαι).

[88] On the importance and main uses of the lustral water (χέρνιψ), cf. Ginouvès (1962:311–18). After the murder of Cacus, Heracles purified himself in the waters of a river (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.39.4). Following the killings he has committed, he was most often cleansed by different men of wealth and power (cf. Parker (1983:381–3)).

[89] Verse 1145: ὅτ' ἀμφὶ βωμὸν χεῖρας ἡγνίζου πυρί.

[90] Cf. Casabona (1966:75), referring to this passage.

[91] Moulinier (1952:131 and n. 1) refutes the purification by fire of Heracles, supporting that 'aucune purification d'*êtres humains* par le feu n'est certaine à l'époque classique' (italics are his). Foley (1985:153 n. 11) thinks that fire or fire and sulphur 'generally refer to the purification of a place rather than a person'; in the *Odyssey* (22.481–94), for example, after the murder of the suitors, Odysseus purifies his house, but not himself (cf. also Parker (1983:114 n. 39)). However, not only is there no reason to refute this kind of human purification in *Heracles*, but in his *Iphigeneia in Taurica* (v. 1222–5), Euripides includes clearly the 'light of torches' (σέλας λαμπάδων) in the καθάρσια, the various materials asked for by Iphigeneia in order 'to purify the foreigners and the goddess' (see below). See also Parker (1983:227): 'Torches ... could purify a room or a man.' Cf. Adkins (1960:90) referring to Heracles: 'if one has killed a man, one should purify oneself with fire.'

Finally, a last question, outlined very briefly, could end these reflections on sacrifice and purification. As is known, the god who presided over purifications, the deity at whose altars murderers sought cleansing from blood guilt, was primarily Zeus, worshipped as *Katharsios*, 'Purifier'.[92] It is not then astonishing that the god of Suppliants (Zeus *Hikesios*) and of Strangers (Zeus *Xenios*) became also the first divine Purifier of the first murderer and suppliant, Ixion, the first human being to shed kindred blood. Scholars who refer to this story rarely pay attention to the means used by the god in order to cleanse the polluted person. An unattributed fragment of Aeschylus very probably refers to this purification: πρὶν ἂν παλαγμοῖς [σταλαγμοῖς, Nauck²] αἵματος χοιροκτόνου | αὐτός σε χράνῃ Ζεὺς καταστάξας χεροῖν, 'until Zeus himself stains[93] you with drops of a slain piglet's blood, sprinkling it with his hands'.[94] Piglets are omnipresent in cathartic operations in general, but Zeus is closely associated, in myth and in sacrificial practice, with pigs and piglets.[95]

So this first purificatory act involves the *blood* of an animal, that of a piglet in this case, its blood recognized as an important cathartic substance.[96] Before trying to think over this fact, it would be useful to remember an important point: the cathartic ritual by means of blood does not always lead immediately to the complete purification of the polluted person.[97] However that may be, the question is worth asking again: why, for what reason, is the blood of an animal presented as an appropriate matter to purify, to wash away the defilement caused by the shedding of human blood? I have no ambition to develop this question here, nor to give a satisfactory answer to so thorny and complicated a question. I would like only to make some remarks, being conscious of the necessity for a more thorough and enlarged investigation.

[92] Cf. Parker (1983:139 and n. 143), with references.

[93] The verb χραίνω often signifies 'defile'. In this fragment of Aeschylus, it means rather 'smear', 'cover with', 'drench', as in Aesch. *Sept.* 61, or in Bacchyl. *Epinicians*, fr. 11, 110–11 Snell-Maehler = Campbell: 'they drenched (χραῖνον) the altar with sheeps' blood.'

[94] Aesch. fr. 327 Nauck² = Radt = Sommerstein (I think that χεροῖν in the dative here implies the use of hands, those of Zeus, not of Ixion as Sommerstein translates).

[95] On this relation, cf. Georgoudi (2010a:100–5). On piglets and purifications, cf. Clinton (2005: esp. 168–76).

[96] Following his father, Apollo will use the same method later for the purification of Orestes: see Dyer (1969).

[97] The purification of Orestes, supposed to occur in three stages, is a good example of the cleansing of a killer obtained by a gradual process: see the discussion in Parker (1983:386–8).

'Impure' Animals and Purificatory Victims

Let us say, however, that, apart from a few images, this sort of purification is mainly prevalent in the literary tradition, while epigraphy is, for the moment, silent on this act.[98] Now, according to an idea generally accepted by scholars, this kind of operation is of a *magic* nature, on the principle that the 'similar [attracts] the similar', as is interpreted the expression τοῖς ὁμοίοις τὰ ὅμοια, found in two scholia, quasi identical, to Aeschines and to Demosthenes.[99] 'Washing blood by blood' would be then an 'homeopathic' idea, an idea considered however as ridiculous by Heraclitus, in his criticism of some 'foolish' religious practices: 'they cleanse in vain themselves by polluting themselves (μιαινόμενοι) with blood, as if someone who had stepped into mud were to wash himself with mud.'[100]

In relation to these ideas, it is worth quoting especially J. Rudhardt's opinion, followed afterwards by other scholars: 'The mechanism of the operation is *magic*; the similar attracts the similar; the purifying blood absorbs the miasma of the blood shed and liberates in that way the man, on whom it [sc. the purifying blood] flows, from the defilement . . . In such an operation, the cathartic substance acts in a paradoxical manner because of its *impurity*; this explains the choice of the victims: the dogs are considered *impure* in many cults; the piglet is used "with other *impure* things of the same nature".'[101]

Before making some remarks on these theories, it is to be noted that, in general, we are dealing with various cult realities, with multiple ritual practices of the Greeks, which take place and function beyond and independently of the philosophical reflections of a Heraclitus, or the scepticism of some enlightened minds. Now, the idea about the impurity of piglets (and of dogs) is not confirmed by Greek facts. As Parker has already argued with reason: 'There was no category of impure animals in Greece . . . Nor was there a category of impure food.'[102] Leaving dogs aside here,[103] I would say, in agreement with Clinton (2005:173), that the 'impurity' of the piglet,

[98] As remarks Lupu (2005:281, 384). Bendlin (2007:187) thinks, no doubt with reason, that 'the literary texts further dramatize what must be a ritual procedure already out of the ordinary'.

[99] *Schol*. Aeschin. *In Tim*. 23; *Schol*. Dem. or. 4, *Phil*. 1b. 30*sq*. M. R. Dilts (ed.), Biblioth. Teubn. (1983) (see below).

[100] Heracl. fr. 5 Diels-Kranz = 86 Marcovich.

[101] Rudhardt (1958:166) (translation and italics are mine). The last phrase is cited from the *Schol*. Aeschin. *In Tim*. 23: χοίρῳ καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀκαθάρτοις; see below, n. 104.

[102] Parker (1983:357). Nevertheless, the 'impurity' of pigs in general is often mentioned by scholars as self-evident; cf. Deshours (below, note 107).

[103] A subject requiring a particular treatment; cf. Franco (2003:19–24), and her critical remarks against the idea that dogs or puppies, used in purification rituals, were considered by Greeks as 'impure' or 'despised' animals. See also Georgoudi (2012).

put forward by the scholiast of Aeschines,[104] seems 'to reflect a Christian (or Egyptian) background'. On the other hand, I would observe that these *scholia* do not refer to the purification of murderers; in consequence, there is no question of 'washing blood by blood'. They deal with the cleansing of the Athenian *ekklesia*, before every meeting of the popular assembly, an operation executed by an official called *peristiarchos*,[105] who carried round the meeting-place the corpse of a slaughtered piglet (διὰ χοίρου ἐσφαγμένου). In this way – say the scholiasts – the *peristiarchos* attracts to the 'victims (θύματα) the impure demons and the spirits who trouble the minds of men, and he withdraws them from the assembly, in order to deliberate in purity (καθαρῶς)'. As for the expression τοῖς ὁμοίοις τὰ ὅμοια, it seems that it has nothing to do, in the context of these *scholia*, with the theory of 'the purifying blood' of animal victims which would absorb 'the miasma of the blood shed' (see above). This expression comes *after* the purification of the assembly, when 'the herald, by incense (διὰ τῶν θυμιαμάτων), appeals to the divinities (τὰ θεῖα), because the similar rejoices at the similar (χαίρει γὰρ τοῖς ὁμοίοις τὰ ὅμοια)'.[106] It is therefore more probable that the notion of 'similarity' refers to the divine sphere.

Returning now to the theory that piglets (or puppies) were used in purifications as 'impure', let us say that this assertion is contradicted also by the fact that other animals were sometimes employed in cathartic rituals, without being considered 'unclean': bulls, rams or boars are reported as purificatory animals on Delos, besides the usual piglets; sheep were used by Epimenides (see above); a dove is provided for the purification of the sanctuary of Aphrodite *Pandemos*, at Athens; a 'ram of good complexion' (κριὸν εὔχρουν), but also three piglets are requested for purifications in the sacred law of Andania; other animals, as for example, rams, are designated by the general term σφάγια (slaughter-victims) and can be taken around a place, a city, a territory, for cathartic and expiatory purposes.[107]

A more detailed inquiry could also point out other arguments against the theories of animal 'impurity'. Here, I would like to close with some last

[104] Cf. also the scholiast of Demosthenes (see above, note 99). In both *scholia*, the piglet is included in the category of the 'impure' things (τὰ ἀκάθαρτα).

[105] On the uncertain etymology of this name, associated now with the word περίστια, identified with καθάρσια (see note 24), now with the verb περιστείχειν, 'go round about', or even with Hestia, see Moulinier (1952:100) (with references).

[106] I quote from the *Schol.* Dem. or 4, *Phil.* 1b. 30*sq*. Dilts (above, note 99), which gives a better text.

[107] Delos: *IG* XI.2 (199 A 70–71 (bull, ram, boar); *IG* XI.2 146 A 76–80 (piglet); *I.Delos* 338 Aa 17*sqq*. (χοῖρος τὸ ἱερὸν καθάρασθαι); Clinton (2005:170–2). Athens: *LSCG* 39, 22–4. Andania: *LSCG* 65 67–8; cf. Deshours (2006:129), who attributes the use of the piglets to the 'uncleanliness' of pigs: 'les porcs, reputés impurs, sont sacrifiés dans les purifications'. On the 'symbolic encirclement' for cathartic purposes, cf. Parker (1983:21–2, 225–6) (with references).

reflections concerning the main question: why is the blood of a slain animal considered as a potent agent of purification, capable of absorbing and washing away different kinds of impurity or pollution? Leaving this question open, I will limit myself to two remarks, or rather to some brief clarifications on two points.

In the first place, the blood of the purificatory victims would not simply be regarded as the well-known red fluid, which circulates in the bodies of the animals. During the cathartic operation, through the different modalities of the purificatory action, this blood is shed in a *ritual* context, according to specific gestures and in a particular manner. This *ritual* treatment of the blood seems to transform it into a powerful substance, endowed with important cleansing qualities and capacities. It becomes a kind of stream that carries along impurities and pollutions, and this blood, regarded now as 'unclean', was no doubt disposed of, as part of the defilements, of the offscourings (λύματα), produced by the act of purification. However, on this point, concerning *especially* the purifying blood of the animal victim, our sources are not very clear.[108]

In the second place, it is clear that, in the majority of cases, the purificatory victims are *very young* animals. Piglets occupy naturally the top of the scale, as they are used, in great numbers, for all kinds of purifications.[109] Sometimes special attention is given to their tender age. As Orestes says, in *Eumenides*, a man who is defiled by shedding human blood will be purified from murder through the blood of a '*suckling* animal' (νεοθήλου βοτοῦ), a reference to his own purification by Apollo with the blood of a piglet. The piglet slaughtered by Circe, for Jason and Medea, is qualified as 'the young of a sow (συὸς τόκος) whose dugs yet swelled from the fruit of the womb'.[110] Besides piglets, though less often, other animal species are mentioned in this context as, for example, young dogs (σκύλακες, σκυλάκια).[111] In the land of the Taurians, Iphigeneia, as priestess of Artemis, is preparing to use, with other καθάρσια, the blood of lambs, and even of 'new born lambs' (νεογνοὺς . . . ἄρνας), in order to purify Orestes and Pylades considered as 'non pure victims' (οὐ καθαρὰ . . .

[108] The usual, and often the only, reference is to Ap. Rhod. *Argon*. 4.710–11, related to the purification of Jason and Medea (see above). But the words λύματα (here) or καθάρσια (in other texts, cf. note 24) are general terms, including very probably the victim's blood.

[109] Cf. Clinton (2005). Instead of a piglet (χοῖρος), we rarely find the mention of a δέλφαξ, a pig neither new-born not old (cf. *Schol.* Ar. *Ach.* 44). The δέλφακες are designated by Aristophanes the grammarian as pigs which 'had already become somewhat firm (πεπηγότα πως) in their body', cf. Schaps (1991) and (1996); Reger (1994:148–9).

[110] Orestes: Aesch.*Eum*.448–50, cf. 283; Jason and Medea: Ap. Rhod. *Argon*.4.705–6 (see above).

[111] Cf. Theophr. *Char*. 16.13; Plut. *Quest. Rom*. 68, *Mor*. 280C.

τὰ θύματα), inappropriate for sacrifice to the goddess.[112] In the Cathartic Law of Cyrene, introduced by an oracle of Apollo prescribing purifications and abstinences for the inhabitants of Libya, a red *young* he-goat (χίμαρον ἐρυθρόν)[113] must be sacrificed to Apollo Ἀποτρόπαιος (the Averter), 'if sickness [or famine] or death comes against the land or the city' – that is to say calamities requiring, in general, cathartic rites.[114]

How could we explain the choice of such young animals for purificatory purposes?[115] One can respond to this question in economic terms, suggesting that piglets were the cheapest offerings, and consequently very easy to procure, particularly for ordinary and regular purifications.[116] I would not deny this argument, but it does not seem very satisfactory. Without pretending to resolve this problem, I would like to call attention to an aspect of Roman sacrificial practice that could be helpful from a comparative point of view.

Varro, for example, remarks that piglets (*porci*), 'on the tenth day after birth are considered "pure" (*puri*), and for that reason from ancient times they are called *sacres*, because they are said to be fit for sacrifice first at that age'.[117] Pliny compares this kind of sacrificial 'purity' in three animal species: 'the young of a pig is "pure" (*purus*) for sacrifice five days [after birth], that of a sheep, seven days, that of an ox, thirty days'.[118] Despite the difference concerning the age of the piglets, the two authors agree on an important point: they call these young sacrificial animals *puri*, physically clean, pure, and also *sacres*, ready to be consecrated to the gods and accepted by them. For Pliny, this 'purity' is also an important criterion when selecting lambs and calves to be immolated on the altars of gods.

[112] Eur.*IT*.1163, 1221–5. As it is said above (note 91), the 'light of torches' was part of the purificatory materials.

[113] Scholars translate the word χίμαρος by 'he-goat' (cf. Parker (1983:334); Robertson (2010:263, 281–2)), or by 'billy goat' (cf. Rhodes and Osborne 2003:495). Nevertheless, and despite of Robertson's objections, the term refers here, most probably, to a young animal: either 'a one winter-old he-goat' (in its literal meaning: see *DELG* s.v. χίμαιρα), or a he-goat between a kid (ἔριφος) and a billy-goat (τράγος): see Lupu (2005:273); Dobias-Lalou (2000:304) translates rightly 'chevreau'. A χίμαρος can sometimes designate a kid, even a 'newly born' (ἀρτίτοκος) kid: *Anth. Pal.* 6.154.3 (Leonidas of Tarentum).

[114] Column A 1–7 (Robertson (2010:260)). This sacrifice can have an averting as well as a cathartic character: cf. Plut. *Quest. Rom*.111, *Mor*. 290C, where the two concepts are associated (ἀποτροπαίων καὶ καθαρσίων [sc. rites]).

[115] The theme of youth and freshness can also be found in cathartic rites that do not imply animal victims. The laborious rites that Oedipus must perform for the purification of the Eumenides and their grove include the use of the 'newly shorn wool of a young ewe' (οἰὸς . . . νεαρᾶς νεοπόκῳ μαλλῷ): Soph. *OC* 475.

[116] Clinton (2005:172–3); cf. Parker (1983:372); Bremmer (2007:134).

[117] Varro, *Rust*. 2.4.16. Hence, continues Varro, in Plautus' play the *Menaechmi* [290], a character asks: 'What is the price of *porci sacres* in this town [sc. Epidamnus]?'; cf. also 2.1.20. On the etymology and sense of the word *porcus*, translated often erroneously 'pig', see Benveniste (1969:30–1).

[118] Plin. *HN* 8.206.

A well-known Roman ritual, the *lustratio agri*, furnishes interesting information on the use of young animals. According to Cato (*Agr*. 141), a prayer was addressed by farmers to the god Mars, beseeching him to 'keep away, ward off and remove' from their household, fields and animals, all kind of disasters, as 'sickness, seen and unseen, barrenness and destruction, ruin and unseasonable influence'. For that purpose, in order to protect farms, plantations and flocks, Cato recommends the farmers to lead around their land and farm three young animals, and afterwards to sacrifice them to Father Mars. Now these animals were three suckling victims, a piglet, a lamb and a calf, which formed what Cato calls *suovetaurilia lactentia*. What would be the sense of this ritual? The specialists of Roman religion do not agree on the etymology of the words *lustratio, lustrum*. Many scholars translate them in terms of purification, and include the text of Cato among sources referring to rites for 'purifying fields' (*agrum lustrare*), villages or cities.[119] This interpretation is firmly criticized, for example, by John Scheid: the *lustrum*, he affirms, is the 'procession . . . which consists in conducting the three victims round the field in question, [and it is] proper to the rite of *suovetaurilia* . . . The *lustratio* has nothing to do with a purification. It is an act of defence, protection and definition.'[120] Other scholars are less categorical on this point as, for instance, Henk Versnel, who remarks with regard to the ceremony of the *circumambulatio*: 'The priest or the magistrate led the "*purifying* instrument" (frequently, though not always, *suovetaurilia*) round the object that had to be lustrated . . . But . . . we would undervalue and, as result, misunderstand the meaning of the ceremony if we left it by classifying *only in terms of purification*.'[121] This means, if I am not mistaken, that purification is *one* of the aspects (and certainly not the sole aspect) of the *circumambulatio*, and in the case of Cato, we may accept that this aspect is not the most important. However that may be, I prefer to leave the question of the *lustratio* to the specialists of Roman culture, since I do not feel competent to resolve 'this vexed problem' – as it is considered by Versnel himself.

[119] Among numerous studies, see Saladino (2004:64–6).

[120] Scheid (2005:148). On this complicated question, the author's reflexion can also evolve: cf. Scheid (1990:447–51), on the different kinds of *lustratio* of Romans, private or public lustrations (*lustratio agri, lustratio pagi* and *lustratio agri Romani*), where it is a question, among others, of the *lustrum*, 'effective (real) or symbolic', to which the Romans had recourse in order to 'purify a land, a territory or a property'.

[121] Versnel (1993:319) (italics are mine). In a recent *Companion to Roman Religion* (Rüpke (2011)), some authors make mention of the 'purification of the fields' (*lustratio agri*); cf. Belayche (2011:278); C. Smith (2011:41).

Nevertheless, I take the liberty of making three remarks, concerning also the Greek point of view.

First, the act of 'purifying' a place can have not only a *cathartic* meaning denoted by the verbs καθαίρω or *lustrare*.[122] The *peristiarchoi*, who were in charge of 'purifying', with the blood of piglets, not only the assembly in Athens (καθαίρειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν), but also theatres as well as the other meeting-places of the people,[123] certainly accomplished a purificatory action. However, at the same time, they did also the job of 'definition' and 'protection': they circumscribed, they defined the outlines of a space now 'cleansed', and therefore 'protected' against any kind of real or symbolic evils and defilement, a place rendered by the ritual action *hosios*, 'permitted by the gods',[124] and where humans can hereafter function as a cohesive whole, with the divine agreement.

Second, as Versnel (1993:319) has rightly pointed out, 'the *circumambulatio* formed an essential and recurrent element of the ceremonies' (in the several types of *lustratio*). In the ritual of Cato, this circular movement is expressed by two verbs, *circumago* and *circumfero*, 'to drive' or 'to carry around'. Now, from a Greek point of view, this ritual encirclement is a standard feature of purificatory actions, using different kinds of cathartic means, and not only animals as in the case of *peristiarchoi*. As Parker rightly points out (1983:225–6), verbs like 'purify in a circle' (περικαθαίρω) 'were used even when there was no actual encirclement'. For a Greek, there is a close relation between purification and going round a person, an object, a place. No doubt for this reason, a Greek author like Appian, describing what Romans called the *lustratio classis*, the lustration of the fleet performed by Octavian (36 BCE), uses the Greek vocabulary proper to purifications. Octavian 'was purifying' the fleet (ἐκάθαιρεν); the priests carry the 'purificatory victims' (τὰ καθάρσια) in ships three times round the fleet (περιφέρουσιν); the generals beseech the gods to turn the bad omens against the 'purificatory victims' (τὰ καθάρσια) instead of against the fleet; then, dividing the entrails, they cast a part of them into the sea and burn the remainder on the altars. And Appian concludes: 'In this way the Romans purify the fleet' (οὕτω μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ ναυτικὰ καθαίρουσιν).[125]

[122] This verb appears also in the text of Cato (141. 4: *lustrandi*), and it is almost always translated as 'purify'. Contra: Scheid (2005:145–52), who supports the sense of 'defend' (see above and note 120; but cf. Scheid (1990:448).) Anyway, the verb *lustrare* is associated, for example, in Ovid (*Met.* 7. 261) with water, fire and sulphur, three *purifying* instruments, frequent in a cathartic context.

[123] Harp. and *Souda*, s.v. καθάρσιον; *Schol. Ar. Ach.* 44 (see also above, notes 24 and 105).

[124] On the meaning of *hosios*, with regard to purity and to pollution, cf. Parker (1983:330).

[125] App. *BCiv.* 5.10.96.

Third, scholars do not generally pay attention to the fact that, in the ritual recommended by Cato, the three animals led around are all *suckling* ones (*lactentia*). It is usually said that the use of very young animals is something normal in the case of domestic cults, since fully grown victims were destined for public ceremonies. Once more, I would say that this argument, based *only* on financial considerations, does not seem to me very satisfactory. Greek cult practices, for example, either domestic or public, show a great variety with regard to the age of animal victims. Now, according to the passages of Varro and Pliny, cited above (notes 117 and 118), young animals were regarded as *naturally* 'pure', ready to be sacrificed to gods. There was no need to submit them to a close examination in order to verify, among other things, their purity, as people used to do with adult victims. If that is the case, we could say that young animals, because of their *pure* nature, their *pure blood*, were perhaps considered as the most appropriate agents of purification, capable to absorb and sweep off all kinds of impurities as, for example, the blood of murder, which Euripides designates by the term μυσαρός ('dirty, defiled').[126] The *pure blood* of such victims would thus be considered as similar to the cathartic or lustral water, another powerful agent of purification, a *pure* substance, drawn sometimes from a flowing source.[127] If so, I would say that the 'pure' has the power to wash away the 'impure', contrary to the idea, supported by Rudhardt and many other scholars, that the 'similar attracts the similar' (see above).

These reflections do not, certainly, put an end to the discussion about the complicated relations between sacrifice and purification, or the status of the purificatory victims. It is well known that, for the most part, Greek cult practices do not have a single meaning and cannot be interpreted in a one-sided manner. We could say that the most interesting and exciting aspect of studies on ancient Greek religion is precisely its *polysemy*.

Appendix: The Eupatridai and the 'Purification of Suppliants'

Even if animal blood remains a very important cathartic agent, especially in a case of murder, it is not always indispensable for purifying a suppliant – whether a homicide or not. Mythological tradition sometimes refers to celebrated killers purified by water, particularly water of springs and rivers,

[126] Eur. *IT* 1123–4: with the blood (φόνῳ) of 'new born lambs' Iphigeneia will wash away the defiled blood (φόνον μυσαρόν) of Orestes and Pylades (see above).

[127] Parker (1983:226–7, 371. The accent is frequently put on the 'purity' of certain waters, particularly of the seawater, considered as 'undefiled, pure' (ἀμίαντος): cf. Ginouvès (1962:405–6).

as Alcmaeon, Cadmus, Heracles, Achilles etc.[128] It is significant that Apollo, a god particularly concerned with purity, but at the same time 'impure', struck sometimes by a 'murderous fury',[129] very probably used the water of a river in order to purify himself after the slaying of the dragon Pytho at Delphi.[130]

All these mythical traditions describe purifications by washing, without excluding, for the same person guilty of murder, other cathartic procedures. Most of the time, killers are said to be purified by certain persons (kings, healer-seers, purifiers, gods etc.),[131] without any mention of the purificatory means employed for this purpose. Now, I would like to finish with some succinct reflections on water, as an efficient and sufficient cathartic agent, by a question regarding not mythical events, but historical facts.

I am concerned with a short and not at all explicit passage of Athenaeus (9.410b), referring to an obscure excerpt from the *patria* (the ancestral customs, the traditional regulations) of the Athenian *genos* of the Eupatridai, cited by the grammarian Dorotheos (παρέθετο ταῦτα καὶ Δωρόθεος).[132] This fragment refers briefly to some actions concerning the 'purification of suppliants' (περὶ τῆς τῶν ἱκετῶν καθάρσεως): 'then, after you[133] and the other σπλαγχνεύοντες have washed yourselves, take water and purify, wash away the blood of him who is being purified and after that, having stirred the dirty water (τὸ ἀπόνιμμα ἀνακινήσας), pour it into the same place'.[134]

[128] The matricide Alcmaeon is purified (καθαίρεται) by the river Acheloos (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.7.5); Cadmus, the killer of the dragon, purified himself with the water of the spring Dirce (Nonnus, *Dion.* 5. 1–4); Heracles: see note 88; Achilles 'sprinkled himself' (περιρράνασθαι) with the water of a spring, after he had killed Trimbelus, king of the Leleges (Ath. 2.43d). For another kind of purification of Achilles (from the murder of Thersites), see above.

[129] See the subtle analysis by Detienne (1998) of this dark aspect of Apollo.

[130] The purification of Apollo, accomplished on the orders of Zeus, can be reconstructed by the collation of some sources: paean to Apollo by Aristonoos (Powell, *Coll. Alex.* i. 17–18, p. 162–4); Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 12, *Mor.* 293C and *De def. or.* 15, *Mor.* 418B; Ael. *VH* 3.1 etc. The river in question is very probably Peneus which runs through the middle of Tempe, the Thessalian mountains. In the waters of this river Apollo had washed his hands clean (ἀπενίψατο τὰς χεῖρας ἐν τῷ Πηνειῷ, see Pfeiffer (1949:95). Ginouvès (1962:324) casts doubt on the purification of Apollo by water, but he seems unaware of some texts.

[131] Cf. Parker (1983:375–92 (*Appendix 7*)).

[132] On Dorotheos of Askalon, who lived in the time of the early Empire, see Jacoby (1949:16 n° 7, and 254 notes 77–8). On the Eupatridai, see Parker (1996a: esp. 63–5, 323–4).

[133] Presumably a member of the Eupatridai who functions as purifier, but not the suppliant himself, as Rudhardt says (1958:271). See Robertson's sound remarks (2010:367).

[134] The ἀπόνιμμα is, in general, synonym of ἀπόνιτρον (Hsch. *s.v.*; cf. Ar. *Ach.* 616), that is water used for washing and then thrown away. Therefore it is 'not drinkable' (ἄποτον) and 'useless' (ἄχρηστον), as says Atremidorus (4.41). In this sense, the translation 'eau lustrale' by Moulinier

This fragment poses at least two problems. In the first place, for most scholars, the ritual attributed here to the Eupatridai describes the purification of a suppliant who had committed homicide. This is not impossible, taking into account that a murderer can also be purified by water as it is previously said. Nevertheless, a suppliant, an ἱκέτης, is not always a killer, as Jacoby rightly observed long ago, referring to this passage.[135]

In the second place, according to an interpretation largely accepted, the term οἱ σπλαγχνεύοντες translated in similar ways,[136] denotes actually a sacrifice, in fact, 'since it includes the communal tasting of the innards (σπλάγχνα) ... a normal sacrifice'.[137] But other scholars go further, suggesting the existence of *two* sacrifices. Robertson, for example, asserts 'that a piglet has been slaughtered so as to sprinkle the suppliant with blood'. But the organs eaten by the σπλαγχνεύοντες 'do not come' from this piglet: 'the animal is much too small'. So after this 'purification comes a sacrifice', where the σπλαγχνεύοντες 'are to dine on the spitted and roasted organs'. A similar idea was formulated before by Parker: if we take for granted the 'inedibility of purificatory sacrifices', we may suppose that the σπλαγχνεύοντες did not eat 'the same animal as was used for purification. Possibly, after the formal purification, representatives of the state admitted the suppliant by sharing a fresh sacrifice with him.'[138]

We can certainly discuss or accept these suggestions. However, I would like to propose another hypothesis. Firstly, I would say that, in this fragment, nothing shows that the purifier performs a sacrifice, or that we have to do with two sacrifices. Secondly, as is explicitly stated, the suppliant is purified by *water* which, as it is repeatedly noted, has the power to cleanse a suppliant, guilty of homicide or not. It is not necessary, in this case, to use the blood of a piglet or of another victim as purificatory agent.[139] But if it is so, how can we understand the term σπλαγχνεύοντες, which, at first sight, seems to point to a collective eating of the σπλάγχνα, after a sacrificial

(1952:80) is misleading, even if in Athenaeus it is mentioned in a purificatory context. Ginouvès (1962:211 n. 1, 244 n. 11, 323 n. 1) does not translate the word.

[135] Jacoby (1949:254 n. 78. For Robertson also (2010:367 and n. 59), this 'purifying ritual' is not 'associated with blood' [as says Parker (1983:371 n. 9]), 'i.e. with homicide'; this passage speaks 'of the treatment of suppliants ... unrestricted'.

[136] Cf. in the Loeb's edition of Athenaeus: 'the other participants of the sacrifice'; Detienne (1977:178): 'les co-mangeurs des viscères'; Burkert (2000:211): 'the others too who share eating the entrails'; Robertson (2010:367): 'the others partaking of the organs' etc. See also Harrison (1922:60), who gives another, rather inaccurate, sense to the word: 'the others who disembowelled the victim'.

[137] Jameson, Jordan and Kotansky (1993:75). Cf. in the same sense, Detienne (1977:178) and Burkert (2000:211).

[138] Robertson (2010:367 and n. 60); Parker (1983:283 and n. 11).

[139] Cf. Tresp (1914:41–2) who thinks of the sacrifice of a ram.

ritual? I think that it is possible to consider this word as a *generic* name designating a group of persons, perhaps an inner circle of Eupatridai, who usually share a communal meal of the inner organs during the sacrifices of the *genos*. This group could probably have the responsibility for the 'purification of suppliants', according to the *patria* of their *genos*. If this is the case, the participle σπλαγχνεύοντες would be used substantively and could be compared with other generic names qualifying certain groups, as ὁμοτράπεζοι (eating at the same table), ὁμόσιτοι (eating together), σύσσιτοι (messmates), συνθύται (fellow-sacrificers) etc., names which indicate *in fine* the comrades.

However that may be, this suggestion has certainly no exclusive value; because, with such a laconic and lacunose text, we walk on a quicksand, remaining anyway within the sphere of probabilities.[140]

[140] Since the writing of this paper, two important works on sacrifice have been published: *Greek and Roman Animal Sacrifice: Ancient Victims, Modern Observers*, edited by Christopher A. Faraone and F. S. Naiden (Cambridge University Press, 2012), and particularly F. S. Naiden, *Smoke Signals for the Gods: Ancient Greek Sacrifice from the Archaic through Roman Periods* (Oxford University Press, 2013). Both of them raise significant questions about the meanings, the functions and the importance of what is called in Greek 'sacrifice' (*thusia*), and especially 'animal sacrifice'. F. S. Naiden criticizes mainly the approaches of Walter Burkert, Jean-Pierre Vernant and Marcel Detienne; he blames them, among other issues, for overestimating the 'animal sacrifice', thus minimizing other forms of offering (for instance, vegetal sacrifices), or for ignoring the fundamental role of gods or priests. Emphasizing the Greek gods, and what he calls the 'theistic' character of Greek sacrifices (against the 'ritualistic'), the author also seeks to explore Christian attitudes towards Greek animal sacrifice and to compare Greek, Hebrew and Christian ideas and practices on sacrifice. This multi-sided study, apart from eventual agreements or disagreements (see above, note 85), deserves to become the object of a circumstantial and attentive review, which cannot be treated here (cf. the critical point of view of Jan-Mathieu Carbon in *Kernos* 26 (2013:384–8)). Having contributed to *The Cuisine of Sacrifice among the Greeks* (some theses of which I have tried to reconsider, during the last few years, as already mentioned above), I hope to return later to F. S. Naiden's work (but also to the collective book edited by him and Faraone), in order to discuss certain ideas and assertions of the author(s), thus exchanging views on sacrifice, this crucial and complicated topic of ancient Mediterranean religions.

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CHAPTER 5

"Polis *Religion*" and Sacrificial Regulation

Fred Naiden

Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood's concept of "*polis* religion" has undergone criticism in recent years, notably by Julia Kindt.[1] Overlooked by Kindt and others is the role of the religious regulations of the *polis*, especially regulations of animal sacrifice. These regulations coexisted with sacrificial regulation by associations such as the *orgeōnes* of Athens. Sourvinou-Inwood was well aware of these associations, and briefly compared them to the *polis*. This chapter will compare them, too, while asking a question inspired by the concept of "*polis* religion": did *polis* regulations dictate or control the regulations of the associations?

Sourvinou-Inwood did not suppose that *polis* religion excluded religious activity by worshippers other than the community as a whole. In "Further Aspects of Polis Religion" she said,

> The fact that the central focus . . . of Greek religion was ritual, and not the personal inner spiritual experience, and that much ritual activity took place in groups, must not be taken to entail that Greek religion is a "group religion" in the sense that group worship was the norm and individual cultic acts somehow were exceptional. In my view, the individual was without doubt the primary, basic, cultic unit in polis religion.[2]

This recognition of the role of individuals precedes a remark about sacrifice,

> The individual sacrifice is a recognized cult act.[3]

Individual acts of sacrifice might be the work of persons acting on their own, or of those acting as members of groups. Concerning the second possibility, she says,

> The polis regulates the religious discourse of its subdivisions.

[1] Kindt (2009) preceded by Burkert (2000) and Jameson (2000), Burkert (1995) and Davies (1988), and followed by Naiden (2013b).
[2] Sourvinou-Inwood (1988:264). [3] Sourvinou-Inwood (1988:265, 270).

She gives only one example of such "subdivisions," the *oikos*, about which she says,

> *Oikos* cults . . . are regulated by the polis.[4]

Sourvinou-Inwood did not mention associations, but surely included them among her "subdivisions," and so she was envisioning a situation in which the *polis* regulated not only communal and household cults, but also the cults of groups. If groups issued regulations of their own, these regulations would be subordinate to those of the *polis*:

> The polis was the institutional authority that structured the universe and the divine world in a religious system, and established a system of cults, particular rituals and sanctuaries . . . it was the ordered community, the polis, which assumed the role played in Christianity by the Church.[5]

If the *polis* resembled the church, the associations would resemble parishes – small units with rules of limited scope. The *polis* would provide the rules that created an "ordered community."

The first part of this chapter turns to the associations' regulations in order to show that the *polis* did not regulate the associations, as Sourvinou-Inwood thought, but that the associations regulated themselves. Their regulations resembled *polis* regulations, but the relation between the two was reciprocal, not hierarchical. The second part of the chapter suggests a reason for this situation. Sacrificial regulations, the Athenians supposed, began not with the *polis*, but with divine pronouncements. Groups like associations built upon these pronouncements. The *polis* and its regulations came later. The regulation of sacrifice was partly communal, but not originally so or entirely so.

For familiar reasons, this chapter deals only with Athenian regulations. It also omits regulations issued by demes, phratries, and *genē* as opposed to associations of *orgeōnes* and *thiasōtai*. The first three groups were constituents of the *polis*; the demes were a topographical and political subdivision, and the other two were demographic elements. For all three, the model of a church and its parishes is plausible. Any community must have territorial parts, and it may also have ethnic parts. If the community

[4] This is true of some cults conducted outside the home, such as funerary cults, and of sacrificial associations identified by the building, or *oikos*, in which they met (*LSAM* 20.15, 33, *LSCG* 118.22, 38) but it is not true of cults conducted within the home, such as the cult of Hestia. Regulation of cult at household doors: *LSAM* 33.b.86–7.

[5] Sourvinou-Inwood (1990:302).

provided for common sacrifices, as Athens did, these parts may well have provided (and did provide) for additional sacrifices conducted in the same way. Evidence to this effect appears in the monographs of David Whitehead and Steven Lambert.[6] The *orgeōnes* and *thiasōtai* studied in the monographs of Nicolas Jones, Paulin Ismard, and Ilias Arnaoutoglou were not constituents of the *polis*, and these scholars have not examined them from the triple perspective of sacrifice, regulations, and the model of "*polis* religion."[7]

Associations and Their Rules

The place to begin would be a general statement about the relation between *polis* sacrifices and those performed by associations. The one statement of this kind appears in a very late source, the *Digest* of Justinian:

> Associates are those who are of the same group. The Greeks call such a group a *hetaireia*. The statute lets them make what by-laws they like, so long as they do no harm to anything in a public law. This statute seems to derive from a law of Solon, which says, "If an agreement is made by a deme or phratry members or (?) of sacred rites or sailors or tablemates or members of a burial society or of a *thiasos* engaged in piracy or commerce, it will be valid unless it contravenes polis regulations."[8]

This law does not mention *orgeōnes* or religious *thiasōtai*, but evidently includes them among the associations free to establish by-laws that do not "contravene polis regulations." The law says nothing about the *polis* providing charters for associations, and so it does not make associations subordinate to the *polis* in the way that modern states make chartered or

[6] Whitehead (1986:127–8, 142–3) on sacrifices by demes; Lambert (1999:75), holding that the *genē* and phratries performed fewer sacrifices than the *orgeōnes*.

[7] Jones (1999:216–18), a brief treatment; Ismard (2010:ch. 1), setting forth a scheme of historical development for the associations; and Arnaoutoglou (2003:ch. 3), not discussing sacrificial rules as opposed to other rules. Selected older bibliography on *orgeōnes*: Foucart (1873:5–7), comparing them to modern corporations; Stengel (1898:188) likewise; Ferguson (1944) on heroic sacrifices by associations; Thomson (1949:112) on their pre-*polis* origins; and sundry remarks at Parker (1996a:333–42).

[8] *Dig.* 47.22.4 (Gaius 4 ad l. xii tab.):

Sodales sunt, qui eiusdem collegii sunt: quam graeci hetaireian vocant. his autem potestatem facit lex pactionem quam velint sibi ferre, dum ne quid ex publica lege corrumpant. sed haec lex videtur ex lege solonis tralata esse. nam illuc ita est: ἐὰν δὲ δῆμος ἢ φράτορες ἢ ἱερῶν ὀργιῶν ἢ ναῦται ἢ σὐσσιτοι ἢ ὁμόταφοι ἢ θιασῶται ἢ ἐπὶ λείαν οἰχόμενοι ἢ εἰς ἐμπορίαν, ὅτι ἂν τούτων διαθῶνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους, κύριον εἶναι, ἐὰν μὴ ἀπαγορεύσῃ δημόσια γράμματα.

Bibliography: Whitehead (1977:88); also Sourvinou-Inwood (1988:269).

incorporated groups subordinate. By speaking of "valid agreements," the law implies that the association may have its regulations enforced by *polis* courts.

In a word, sacrificial associations could establish "by-laws" as opposed to customs, laws, or decrees.[9] "By-law" is the appropriate term, not "custom," because these regulations not only enjoined duties and applied to all group members, just as a custom might, but also were enforced by group officers and contained sanctions, mainly fines.[10] "By-law" is better than "law" or "decree" because the enforcement of these regulations and the collection of the fines were issues that might end up in *polis* courts. Unlike some laws, by-laws did not provide severe sanctions such as death or exile. Since by-laws prohibited particular conduct, not general conduct, they differed from the *polis* law on *asebeia*. (The *polis* law on *asebeia* could apply to particular conduct, too, but every case we know of involves *polis* sacrifices, not sacrifices made by groups.[11]) For the most part, by-laws resembled *psephismata* in the fourth-century sense of this term. They differed from *nomoi* in the fourth-century sense.

Sourvinou-Inwood's statement that the *polis* "regulated religious discourse" finds no echo in the law of Solon, or in *IG*. This and other relevant corpora do not contain a single *polis* law or decree regulating sacrifices by Athenian associations. There must have been some such enactments, for example, a decree about the Thracian worshippers of Bendis, who, as foreigners, needed the approval of the *polis* for establishing a shrine, but it is significant that none of these enactments has survived, whereas the *orgeōnes* issued at least seventeen extant regulations, and probably three more.[12] This contrast confirms that the associations might make "what laws they like."

What use did the associations make of their liberty? Eleven of the twenty regulations contain instructions to confer honors. The oldest decree of this kind, from the fourth century, says, omitting most of the supplements:

[9] For the distinction, see Naiden (2008:125–6).

[10] I.e., a law would need to have four characteristics: universal applicability, provision of duties, enforceability, and sanctions, as at Pospisil (1971:44–78), cited to this effect in Naiden (2008:125).

[11] The sacrificial cases: Naiden (2013a:217–18), which include an incident involving Athenians at Delos. A regulation in which misconduct during a sacrifice is made subject to the law on *asebeia: SEG* XI 1112 with Naiden (2008:134). A regulation in which other misconduct made sacrifice *asebēs: LSAM* 16. 25–7.

[12] Seventeen resolutions: *IG* ii^2 1252, 1255, 1283, 1315, 1325, 1326, 1327, 1328, 1329, 1337, 1361, 2499, 2501, *Agora* 16.161[1], 16.161[2], *Hesp*. 10:56, 20, *MDAI(A)* 66:228, 4. Three more: *IG* ii^2 1259, 1289, 1361. 11 with honors: *IG* ii^2 1252, 1255, 1259, 1315, 1325, 1326, 1327, 1329, 1337, *Hesp*. 10:56, 20, *MDAI(A)* 66:228, 4. A case of a *polis* resolution that named priests for orgia: *LSAM* 23.2–6 (Erythrae, late 300s).

> Mnesigeiton made a motion . . . since Mnesarchus has shown himself . . . concerning the people . . . and well-intentioned . . . to the *orgeōnes*, [they have resolved to praise] Mnesarchus.[13]

Having appointed an officer like Mnesarchus, and assigned him sacrificial duties, the *orgeōnes* proceed to find him satisfactory, and reward him. Rather than act in the name of the *polis*, the *orgeōnes* act in their own names.

Other resolutions explain what a man like Mnesarchus did: perform such tasks as preparing sacrificial accessories, assigning priestly portions, and dividing meat among those in attendance, and, to turn from any one aspect of sacrifice to general requirements, acting as a host, conducting sacrifices *kata ta patria*, and complying with instructions in a cult calendar. Financial requirements include taking charge of association funds and avoiding overspending.[14] The requirement to conduct sacrifices *kata ta patria* included everything from the color of sacrificial animals to providing a table for vegetal offerings, from the time and place for a sacrifice to the identification of some group on whose behalf the sacrifice occurred. As I have argued elsewhere, beauty was part of *ta patria*, and so one regulation specifies that an assistant to a priestess must place coverlets on a certain number of thrones "as elegantly as possible."[15] The diversity of these tasks points to the same conclusion as before: rather than be regulated by the *polis*, the *orgeōnes* regulated themselves.

In light of this various, detailed regulation, it seems odd that only a few resolutions provide punishments for failing to perform sacrificial tasks. One imposes a 50-drachma fine for priestesses who do not prepare sacrificial accoutrements such as coverlets for thrones. A second imposes an unspecified fine for sacrificing in the wrong part of a shrine; it also imposes a punishment of expulsion from the association, or literally, loss of

[13] *Hesperia* 10:56, 20:

> Μνησιγείτων εἶπεν· [ἔδοξεν τοῖς ὀργεῶσι]·
> ἐπειδὴ Μνήσαρχος [ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐστι πε]-
> ρὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸ[ν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἀποδεί]-
> κνυται εὔνο[υς ὢν καὶ ἀεὶ φιλοτιμού]-
> μενος τ[ῶι τε δήμωι καὶ τῶι κοινῶι τῶι ὀ]-
> ργεών<ων>· δε[δόχθαι τοῖς ὀργεῶσι· ἐπαινέσαι]
> [Μ]νήσαρ[χον

[14] Accessories: *IG* ii² 1328.8–14. Priestly portions: 1361.7–8. Meat: 1255.5–6, *Agora* 16.161[1].18–24,16.161[2].18–24. Host: *Agora* 16.161[1].12–24. *Kata ta patria: IG* ii² 1283.25–6, 1289.6–8, 1325.23–4, 1326.11–13, 1327.7–8. Cult calendar: *Agora* 16.161[1].13–6. Taking charge of association funds: *IG* ii² 1252.12–14, 1325.23–4, 1326.10–13, 1327.8–14. Avoiding overspending: *Agora* 16.161[1].17, 16.161[2].17.

[15] An assistant: *IG* ii² 1328.16–7. Coverlets: 1328.9–10. As elegantly as possible: Naiden (2013a:210–11).

participation in the association's business, for any member who votes or proposes to alter a by-law on priestly portions, maintenance of the shrine, and other topics. A third imposes a contribution akin to a fine: if non-members sacrificed at the shrine of one association, they had to give portions of a sacrificial animal to the priest or priestess.[16] A fourth punishes those who fail to publish the honors given to Mnesarchus and others like him. Other, fragmentary resolutions may have done likewise.[17] The worst punishment is expulsion from the association, not a heavy fine or incarceration, still less death.

A feature lying in the background of all these regulations can account for infrequent, light punishment. Tradition, *ta patria*, dictates most features of sacrifice, and the association assumes that worshippers will respect tradition. If the associations alter tradition, or add to it, they want to be sure their innovations are carried out, and so they issue the occasional instruction, and sometimes add a punishment. They prefer to grant the honors that encourage members to preserve tradition. Tradition of this kind does not depend on "*polis* religion." It is compatible with the "folk religion" that Martin Nilsson thought was fundamental for Greek religious practices, and the similar, rural religion that Louis Gernet thought was the original form of Greek religious expression.[18] The associations, after all, were far older than the democratic *polis* established after Clisthenes. They were perhaps older than the reforms of Solon and Draco. Under these circumstances, the associations must have been competent to regulate their long-established rites.

The *polis* had one role to play in the association's regulations – policeman. If instructions were disobeyed, or punishments thwarted, the association would turn to the courts of the *polis* for help. As it happens, only one inscription illustrates this recourse. It deals with a matter other than sacrifice, but it does show *orgeōnes* resorting to a public arbitrator.[19] Similarly, fragments of a speech by Lycurgus imply that *genē* in charge of sacrifices sometimes took their business to *polis* courts.[20] The lack of additional examples implies that this recourse was seldom necessary. Just as the polis seldom regulated the associations' sacrifices, it seldom adjudicated legal business

[16] Fine for priestess: *IG* ii² 1328.8–14. Fine for sacrificing in the wrong place: *IG* ii² 1361.7–8. Expulsion: 1361.13–14. Sacrifice by non-members: 1361.2–7.

[17] *MDAI(A)* 66:228, 4.17–19.

[18] Nilsson (1940:82), where the *orgeōnes* are formed on popular initiative, but not communal initiative; Gernet (1932:123–4) agreeing, but positing a struggle between the *orgeōnes* and the nobility.

[19] *IG* ii² 1289, pitting two associations against each other in a dispute about sacred property.

[20] Harp. s.v. Κοιρανίδαι, a dispute over a priesthood between the Croconidai and the Coiranidai, as at Parker (1996a:302–4).

arising from sacrifice. (These conclusions about the *orgeōnes* partly hold good for groups of *thiasōtai*, but there is less evidence.[21])

The relation between the associations' regulations and the regulations of the *polis* was twofold. On the one hand, the *polis* did much of what the associations did. If it changed *ta patria*, it issued instructions to priests and others, but it seldom prescribed punishments for violations of laws about sacrifice, and when it did, it acted like the *orgeōnes*. Just as they fined a priestess for mishandling coverlets, the *polis* fined officials who commit an offense such as delaying the Panathenaic procession. Just as the *orgeōnes* fined those who sacrifice in the wrong part of the shrine, the *polis* fined those who abuse sacred space in either this way or others, such as causing nuisances on the Acropolis. Just as the *orgeōnes* fined those who fail to provide for the maintenance of the shrine, the *polis* fined those who waste or misuse the natural resources found in shrines.[22] As a last resort, the *polis*, like the *orgeōnes*, turned to the courts. The two kinds of regulation ran parallel to each other.

On the other hand, the two sometimes overlapped one another. One resolution of an association begins:

> Resolved by the *orgeōnes*. Since Serapion etc. was established as caretaker for the year etc. and has made the proper sacrifices in the shrine and sacrificed successfully on behalf of the association of the *orgeones* and their wives and children and the people of Athens, and has taken good and handsome care of the *orgeones* throughout the year, and has served the gods with his own money.[23]

The *orgeōnes* were sacrificing for the *polis*, not just themselves and their families, and so these sacrifices overlapped with communal ones. Because *polis* sacrifices were sometimes made on the behalf "of wives and children and the people," the overlap is all the more obvious.[24]

[21] *Thiasōtai* punished for not announcing honors: *IG* ii² 1263.43–5, 1273.21–3. Accusations of violating by-laws: 1275.14–17, 1297.17–18.

[22] Procession late: *Syll.* 271.31–5. Nuisances on the Acropolis: *LSCG* 3.5–11, 21–2, 14–17. Waste or misuse of natural resources in shrines: *IG* i³ 78a.55–9; *IG* ii² 1362.7–15, 1177.17–21.

[23] *MDAI(A)* 66:228, 4.2–8:

> [ἔ]δοξεν τοῖς ὀργεῶσιν· ἐπειδὴ Σεραπίων Ποσειδωνίου Ἡρακλεώτ[ης]
> ἐπιμελητὴς κατασταθεὶς εἰς τὸν ἐπὶ Διοκλέους ἄρχοντος ἐνιαυτ[ὸν]
> τάς τε θυσίας ἔθυσεν τοῖς θεοῖς τὰς καθηκούσας ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι καὶ [ἐ]-
> καλλιέρησεν ὑπέρ τε τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν ὀργεώνων καὶ παίδων καὶ γ[υναι]-
> κῶν καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ἐπεμελήθη δὲ καὶ ὀργε[ώνων]
> καλῶς καὶ εὐσχημόνως ἐν ὅλωι τῶι ἐνιαυτῶι, ἐθεράπευσεν [δὲ καὶ τοὺς]
> θεοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων,

[24] A different view of this inscription: Naiden (2013a:194). Wives and children: Naiden (2013a:186).

Sometimes the overlap involved other topics. When the *polis* gave the worshippers of Bendis the right to own a shrine, the association not only acted on behalf of both the city and the association, but also obeyed the laws of the city as well as the association's customs. The background is that some of the worshippers of this goddess, who were *orgeōnes* in Piraeus, resolved to help others who were in Athens, or as the resolution says, "in town." Both groups were Thracian.

> In accordance with a prophecy from Dodona, the Athenian people gave to the Thracians, and to no other *ethnos*, the right to own and found a shrine and hold a parade starting from the hearth in the Prytaneum . . . So that the *orgeōnes* may plainly obey the polis law that bids the Thracians to hold the parade going into Piraeus and may plainly cooperate with the worshippers in town, the *orgeōnes* resolve to help run whatever parade the townsmen prefer and to lead it from the Prytaneum into Piraeus . . . whenever there are sacrifices let the priest and priestess pray for the *orgeōnes* in town in the same way as for the rest . . . and let the whole *ethnos* be of one mind when the sacrifices to the gods occur, along with everything else that is fitting according to the customs of the Thracians and the laws of the polis.[25]

This episode suggests that two or more associations might cooperate with one another, as well as with the *polis*.[26]

[25] *IG* ii^2 1283.4–16, 19–26:

> ἐπειδὴ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων δεδωκότος τοῖς Θραιξὶ μ-
> όνοις τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν τὴν ἔγκτησιν καὶ τὴν ἵδρυσιν τοῦ
> ἱεροῦ κατὰ τὴν μ[α]ντείαν τὴν ἐγ Δωδώνης καὶ τὴν πονπὴν π-
> έμπειν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑστίας τῆς ἐκκ τοῦ πρυτανείου καὶ νῦν οἱ
> ἡι[ρη]μένοι ἐν τῶι ἄστει κατασκευάσασθαι ἱερὸν οἴοντα-
> ι δεῖν οἰκείως διακεῖ[σθ]αι πρὸς ἀλλήλους· ὅπως ἂν οὖν φα-
> [ίν]ωνται καὶ οἱ ὀργεῶνες τῶι τε τῆς πόλεως νόμωι πειθαρ-
> χοῦντες ὃς κελεύει τοὺς Θρᾶικας πέμπειν τὴμ πομπὴν εἰ-
> [ς Π]ε[ι]ραιᾶ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῶι ἄστει ὀργεῶνας οἰκείως [δ]-
> ιακείμενοι· ν ἀγαθεῖ τύχει δεδόχθαι τοῖς ὀργεῶσιν ν [τὴ]-
> [ν μὲν] πονπὴ[ν ὡ]ς ἂν [ἕ]λωνται οἱ ἐν τῶι ἄστει συνκαθι[στάνα]-
> ι τὴμ πομπὴν καὶ τήνδε <ο>ὖν ἐκ τοῦ πρυτανείου εἰς Πει[ραιᾶ]
> πορεύεσσθαι ἐν τῶι αὐτῶι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιέως·
> ὅταν δὲ ὧσιν αἱ θυσίαι εὖ[χεσθαι]
> τὸν ἱερέα καὶ τὴν ἱέρειαν πρὸς ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἃς εὖ[χονται]
> καὶ τοῖς ὀργεῶσι τοῖς ἐν τῶι ἄστει κατὰ ταὐτά, ὅ[πως ἂν τού]-
> τῶν γινομένων καὶ ὁμονοοῦντος παντὸς τοῦ ἔθ[νους αἱ τ]-
> ε θυσίαι γίνωνται τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα πρ[οσήκει]
> κατά τε τὰ πάτρια τῶν Θραικῶν καὶ τοὺς τῆς πόλ[εως νόμου]-
> ς

Bibliography and background: Jones (1999:256–62).

[26] So also *Agora* 16 161[1], where two associations have cooperated in the past, and one passes a decree to continue to do so. This situation evokes a network as defined by Granovetter and Swedberg (1992),

In this instance, the *orgeōnes* were supporting the *polis*. In part, they were seeking to repay a favor, for at some earlier time, the *polis* allowed the Thracians to establish a shrine. In part, the *orgeōnes* were seeking to strengthen their own customs by linking these customs to *polis* law. The relation between the two sides was partly practical, partly ideological, but always reciprocal, with a watchword of mutual gain and solidarity.[27]

The ideological cooperation between the two sides appears in a resolution by a group of *thiasōtai*, who once again prove similar to *orgeōnes*. The *thiasōtai* did not mention any laws of the *polis*, but they did mention a law, or *nomos*, of their own:

> If any one dies, let his son or mother or father take care of that, or whoever in the *thiasos* is closest to him. They and all his friends should attend the funeral procession. If anyone is wronged, they and his friends should help him, so that all may know that we act piously towards the gods and our friends. If people act this way, it will do them much good, and the same is true for their descendants and their ancestors. Since the *thiasōtai* let the law prevail, let nothing be stronger than the law. If anyone does or says anything against the law, let any of the *thiasōtai* who wishes accuse him. If he prevails against him, let the *thiasōtai* punish him however the association resolves.[28]

The "law" in this resolution must be a by-law of the *thiasos*. The members chose to give this by-law two trademarks of a *polis* law – *ho boulomenos* and a trial before the collectivity, as indicated in the last few words. They are imitating the *polis*, but for their own advantage.

i.e., collaboration among groups with weak links as opposed to the stronger links within households or among citizens.

[27] Another view of the *orgeōnes* and *thiasōtai*: Jones (1999:216–18), arguing that they caused social differentiation.

[28] *IG* ii² 1275.4–17:

> [ωτῶν – — – – — – – — εἰὰν δέ τι]ς αὐτῶν ἀπογίγνητ-
> [αι, φράσ]ει ἢ ὑὸ[ς ἢ μήτηρ? ἢ π]ατὴρ ἢ ὃς ἂν οἰκειότατ-
> ος εἶ τοῦ θίασου, τοῦ δ' ἀπογιγνομένου ἰέναι ἐπ' ἐ-
> χφορὰν καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἅπαντας : καὶ ἄ-
> ν τις ἀδικῆται, βοηθεῖν καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς φί-
> λους ἅπαντας, ὅπως ἂν πάντες εἰδῶσιν ὅτι καὶ
> εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβοῦμεν καὶ εἰς τοὺς φίλους· τα-
> ῦτα δὲ ποιοῦσιν αὐτοῖς πολλὰ κἀγαθὰ καὶ ἐγγόν-
> οις καὶ προγόνοις. ἐπειδὰν δὲ κυρώσωσι τὸν νόμ-
> ον οἱ θιασῶται, μηθὲν εἶναι τοῦ νόμου κυριώτερ-
> ον· εἰὰν δέ τις παρὰ τὸν νόμον ἢ εἴπει ἢ πράξει, κα-
> τηγορίαν αὐτοῦ εἶναι τῶι βουλομένωι τῶν θιασωτῶ-
> ν, καὶ ἂν ἕλει αὐτὸν τιμάτωσαν αὐτὸν καθότι ἂν δο-
> κεῖ τῶι κοινῶι.

Scholars have recently debated whether the Athenians lived under the rule of law.[29] There need not be any debate about whether the associations wished to live under *nomos*:

> Plainly obey the polis law.
> Let nothing be stronger than the law.

These statements did not imply, however, that sacrifices always proceeded according to law. They implied only that lawful sacrifice was preferable. Sacrifices outside or against the law might well occur, a possibility mentioned by several Classical authors. In Plato's *Laws*, the author's mouthpiece says:

> Shrines and cults are not easy things to establish. It requires much thought. Here is a fault found in all women, and in the sick, the desperate, and the hapless, either when they are at a loss or when they have some good luck . . . They pray by means of sacrifices, and they promise to establish cults to gods, spirits, and heroes . . . They fill every house and village with altars and shrines in open spots and wherever people like them happen to be.[30]

But the worst news is not about groups of women. It is about groups of impious persons:

> The impious establish shrines and altars in private houses. They think to win over the gods in secret, by means of sacrifices and prayers. They pile up injustice with no limit and bring down divine accusations upon themselves and those who are better than they are but tolerate them. The whole community is "rewarded," thanks to the impious, and justly, too.[31]

Although we may discount the bias expressed by this passage, we should accept the idea that the Athenians thought that sacrifices by individuals and groups could harm the community. Aeschines agreed that sacrifices by

[29] Competing senses of the phrase "rule of law": Gagarin (2004). Brief bibliography: Harris (2006: xviii).

[30] Pl. *Lg.* 10.909e–910a:
ἱερὰ καὶ θεοὺς οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἱδρύεσθαι, μεγάλης δὲ διανοίας τινὸς ὀρθῶς δρᾶν τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἔθος τε γυναιξί τε δὴ διαφερόντως πάσαις καὶ τοῖς ἀσθενοῦσι πάντῃ καὶ κινδυνεύουσι καὶ ἀποροῦσιν, ὅπῃ τις ἂν ἀπορῇ, καὶ τοὐναντίον ὅταν εὐπορίας τινὸς λάβωνται,καθιεροῦν τε τὸ παρὸν ἀεὶ καὶ θυσίας εὔχεσθαι καὶ ἱδρύσεις ὑπισχνεῖσθαι θεοῖς καὶ δαίμοσιν καὶ παισὶν θεῶν, . . . βωμούς καὶ ἱερὰ πάσας μὲν οἰκίας, πάσας δὲ κώμας ἔν τε καθαροῖς ἱδρυομένους ἐμπιμπλάναι καὶ ὅπῃ τις ἔτυχε τῶν τοιούτων.

[31] Pl. *Lg.* 10.910b:
ἱερά τε καὶ βωμοὺς ἐν ἰδίαις οἰκίαις ἱδρυόμενοι, λάθρᾳ τοὺς θεοὺς ἵλεως οἰόμενοι ποιεῖν θυσίαις τε καὶ εὐχαῖς, εἰς ἄπειρον τὴν ἀδικίαν αὐξάνοντες αὑτοῖς τε ἐγκλήματα πρὸς θεῶν ποιῶνται καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτρέπουσιν, οὗσιν αὐτῶν βελτίοσιν, καὶ πᾶσα οὕτως ἡ πόλις ἀπολαύῃ τῶν ἀσεβῶν τρόπον τινὰ δικαίως.

impious persons could harm their neighbors, and so did Antiphon.[32] Two commonplace illustrations of this danger were an impious person attending (if not making) a sacrifice in a shrine, and spoiling the sacrifice for everyone else, and an impious person making a voyage and ruining the sacrifices made for a safe trip.[33]

If associations wrote and obeyed their by-laws, there would be none of the chaos that Plato complains of. If they adhered to *ta patria*, there would be no unwanted novelties. If they imitated the polis, the community and its several parts would work to the same end, the genuine "reward" given by divine favor, while avoiding the calamities mentioned by Aeschines and Antiphon. Although the associations were not legally subordinate to the *polis*, they were religiously akin. They feared the same gods for the same reasons. Legal distinctions accompanied a fundamental religious similarity.

Sacrificial *Aitia*

To judge from Porphyry, the Athenians not only asked, but also answered, the question of how sacrifice in their community originated. They did not suppose that the *polis* established this ritual. Groups of worshippers did. In response to this innovation, the gods gave their sanction, using more or less legal language. Later regulation of ritual would develop the potential of this initial legalization of sacrifice by Zeus or Delphi. Sacrifice was not a matter of unwritten law given to mankind by the gods, as supplication may have been, but it was a human contrivance with divine approval.[34]

Three *aitia* for Athenian animal sacrifice present the practice as a contrivance of this kind. The source for these *aitia*, Porphyry, does not approve of sacrifice, and dismisses all three as "indecent apologies."[35] This attitude might make him reluctant to admit that the gods approved sacrifice, yet he reports express approval in two of three cases. The third case involves tacit approval. Each time, the language of approval is judicial or legal.

> The first case concerns the custom of sacrificing pigs in Attica:
>
> The people link the slaughter of pigs to an involuntary wrong done by Clymene. She struck the animal accidentally, and killed it.

[32] Aeschin. 3.121, put in a general context in Naiden (2013a:ch.4), as are the subsequent passages in Antiphon and the previous passage in Plato.

[33] Shrine: Antipho 1.11. Voyage: 5.82–3.

[34] Unwritten law: Harris (2004;25–9) followed by Naiden (2013a: ch.4). Supplication established by Zeus in response to Ixion's coming to an altar: A. *Eu.* 441, 717 with Naiden (2006a:10).

[35] Porph. *Abst.* 2.10: οὐκ εὐαγῶν ἀπολογιῶν.

After expressing his own disapproval of this "wrong," Porphyry goes on to report Apollo's response:

> Her father was worried about her, for she had acted lawlessly, and went to Delphi and asked the oracle. The god accepted what had happened. For the future, he determined that the business [of sacrifice] was a matter of indifference.[36]

In this sketchy situation, some Athenian cults exist, but they exclude the slaughter of animals. When the accident occurs, the *polis* does not interfere. Instead, a senior worshipper turns to the source of religious norms at Delphi. The oracle corrects the impression that the slaughter was *paranomos*. In the future, the god implies, sacrificial slaughter would be *nomimos*.

The next *aition* is somewhat longer:

> Episcopus, who was one of the *theopropoi*, wanted to make an *aparchē* of sheep, and people say that he very discreetly accepted the oracle that goes like this: "It isn't *themis* for you to kill the perambulatory race of sheep . . . If one of them nods willingly when water is poured, I say it is just to sacrifice it, Episcopus."[37]

In this version of early Athenian religion, cult once again exists, under the *theopropoi*. The *polis* is once again missing, and the oracle once again determines religious norms. The legal language of the previous example has given way to specifically judicial language, for the sacrifice is now *dikaios*.

In the third *aition*, Porphyry gives an account of the *Boufonia*:

> When he was priest of Zeus Polieus, Diomus was the first to slaughter an ox . . . The ox tasted the sacred cake and he killed the creature, getting everyone nearby to join in.[38]

This much-discussed passage, and others relating to the same festival, led Walter Burkert and others to speculate that the Greeks felt guilty about

[36] Porph. *Abst.* 2.9: τὴν μὲν γὰρ τῶν συῶν σφαγὴν ἀκουσίῳ ἁμαρτίᾳ Κλυμένης προσάπτουσιν, ἀπροαιρέτως μὲν βαλούσης, ἀνελούσης δὲ τὸ ζῷον. διὸ καὶ εὐλαβηθέντα αὐτῆς τὸν ἄνδρα, ὡς παράνομον διαπεπραγμένης, Πυθῶδε ἀφικόμενον χρήσασθαι τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ μαντείῳ. τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ τῷ συμβάντι ἐπιτρέψαντος, ἀδιάφορον λοιπὸν νομίσαι τὸ γιγνόμενον.

[37] Ibid: Ἐπισκόπῳ δέ, ὃς ἦν ἔκγονος τῶν Θεοπρόπων, βουληθέντι προβάτων ἀπάρξασθαι, ἐπιτρέψαι μὲν φασὶ τὸ λόγιον, σὺν πολλῇ δ' εὐλαβείᾳ. ἔχει γὰρ οὕτως· οὔ σε θέμις κτείνειν οἰων γένος ἐστὶ βέβαιον, ἔγγονε Θειοπρόπων· ὃ δ' ἑκούσιον ἂν κατανεύσῃ χέρνιβ' ἔπι, θύειν τόδ', Ἐπίσκοπε, φημὶ δικαίως.

ἔπι, θύειν τόδ': Wolff. ἐπιθύειν τὸ δ': mms.

[38] Ibid: βοῦν δὲ Δίομος ἔσφαξε πρῶτος, ἱερεὺς ὢν τοῦ Πολιέως Διός, . . . ὁ βοῦς προσελθὼν ἀπεγεύσατο τοῦ ἱεροῦ πελάνου· συνεργοὺς γὰρ λαβὼν τοὺς ἄλλους ὅσοι παρῆσαν, ἀπέκτεινε τοῦτον.

killing animals.[39] Whatever the attitude of the Greeks (or of Porphyry), the elements in the scene are familiar: a cult, a local religious leader, no *polis*, and a divine response to an inaugural sacrifice. The response differs from before on two counts: it comes from Zeus, not Apollo, and it takes a new form, the god's tacit endorsement of a human court that fails to act against the killers and that instead blames the weapon used to kill the ox.[40]

Another account appears in Eusebius, but unlike these three it does not concern Athens. In this account, Porphyry reportedly says that Apollo's oracle prescribed sacrificial rules to the Greeks.[41] In addition, Hesychius gives a very brief account of the origin of Athenian sacrifice that lacks any legal coloring.[42] Neither account contradicts the main elements of the first three – antecedent cults, local leaders, and their omission of the *polis*. In sum, Athenian (and a few Greek) accounts of the origin of animal sacrifice concentrate on cult; they assume a congregation of worshippers, but not any form of political organization for the community. Legal or judicial language appears, but seldom in the context of a legal system. Instead this language legitimizes *ta patria*.

These *aetia* differ from Hesiod's account of sacrifice in the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days*. In these two poems, a Titan is the author of animal sacrifice, or plays the main role in establishing it. No oracle sanctions the offering, and no incident justifies the killing of the victim, an act that goes unmentioned. Hesiod includes an *aetion*, but for the division of the victim into two parts rather than for the slaughter of the victim.[43] Is spite of these differences, a common feature links this pan-hellenic account of sacrifice to Porphyry's epichoric accounts. Hesiod shows the perils of providing a sacrifice that is not acceptable, or, as other sources put it, not *euprosdektos*.[44] Worshippers must please a god, the concern of three figures in Porphyry – Clymene's father in the first *aetion*, Episcopus in the second, and Diomus in the third.

In Hesiod and Porphyry, as in Plato, sacrifice can go wrong. In response, both associations and the *polis* regulated it. Logically speaking, and mythically speaking, the *polis* and its institutions did not provide the impetus for

[39] For the ample literature on this subject, see Henrichs (1996). A different view: Naiden (2013c). Porphyry includes a very brief fourth account for the origin of the sacrifice of goats, but with no details.

[40] Paus. 1.28.10–11. [41] Eus. *PE* 4.8.4–9.1.

[42] Hesych. s.v. διος θᾶκοι καὶ πέσσοι, where Athena promises the first sacrifice to Zeus Polieus in return for Zeus's help against Poseidon.

[43] Hes. *Th*. 516–607, esp. 535–7; *Op*. 47–8.

[44] *Euprosdektos*: Naiden (2013a:115). A general statement of the problem of comparing local and Panhellenic accounts: Price (1999:15).

this regulation. The hopes and fears of the worshippers did. *Ta patria* encouraged these hopes and assuaged these fears, and the associations, through their by-laws, safeguarded *ta patria*. The *polis*, a latecomer to the scene, supplied legal backing and legal language to the associations, and cooperated with them. It did not create or run them. "*Polis* religion" gives the *polis* too much credit, and it gives tradition and the associations too little.[45]

As Kindt observed in her article, the concept of *polis* religion rests on the assumption that a phenomenon like religion can be embedded in some political entity. Kindt quotes Jan Bremmer to this effect:

> In ancient Greece, . . . religion was totally embedded in society – no sphere of life lacked a religious aspect.[46]

In arguing against this notion of "embeddedness," Kindt observed that some Greek religious practices had little to do with the *polis*.[47] Although this observation would not apply to animal sacrifice, another observation of hers does apply, which is that Greek religious practices owed less to the *polis* than to other elements in Greek life. One of these elements was a propensity to regulate, a legal manifestation of the oft-remarked Greek "epigraphical habit" – a habit that in the case of sacrifice was not exclusively Athenian or democratic. Although evidence for *orgeōnes* and *thiasōtai* mostly comes from Athens under the democracy, evidence for the regulation of sacrifice is much broader, encompassing cities dominated by local magistrates and cities under Roman rule.[48]

The last word in this essay belongs to the *thiasōtai*:

> Let nothing be stronger than the law.

The *thiasōtai* did not say, "Let nothing be stronger than our association" or "Let nothing be stronger than the *polis*." These statements would have invited *nemesis*. "Nothing stronger than the law" did not. The gods would not have regarded the law as challenging them. Themis, Dike, and the Nomoi were goddesses; Demeter was a goddess of *thesmoi*, and Zeus a god

[45] Closer to the view of Sourvinou-Inwood: Ismard (2010: ch. 1), holding that the *polis* came to dominate the associations in the fourth century.

[46] Kindt (2009:12–15) quoting Bremmer (1994:2), who in turn draws upon Polanyi (1968).

[47] Here she follows Burkert (1995:203).

[48] Cf. Meritt (1940:89–93), supposing that this habit was a typically democratic one; Hedrick (1999: 387–8), replying that it was democratic, but fluctuated according to ideological shifts; and the originator of the phrase, MacMullen (1982:245), warning that fluctuations might be misleading, a point that may be adapted to the Athenian evidence, so that more or less epigraphical evidence for regulation will not inspire mistaken conclusions about adherence to *ta patria*.

of oaths and magistrates. The word *theoi*, which appears atop Assembly decrees, appears atop resolutions passed by associations, too.[49] Even if the subject was nuisances and coverlets, the laws and the by-laws ranked as a kind of incidental holy writ, often changed, but always changed on the pretext of fulfilling a purpose that could not and should not change. The gods should be served, and served lawfully.

The legal element in Greek sacrifice emerges all the more strongly in the light of several obvious comparisons. If we begin with the present – for example, with religious life in the United Kingdom – the contents of the communion cup or wafer are not regulated by law, or by any by-law that a court will enforce; if kosher and halal butchering are regulated by law, the reason is to protect public health, not to regulate sacrifice. At the opposite extreme, animal sacrifice in ancient Egypt was not regulated by law, and instead was prescribed by priests.[50] In between these two extremes, animal sacrifice in the Roman Republic was performed according to the law or laws applicable to a shrine or altar, and *gentilicia sacra* resembled sacrifices by Greek associations, but no by-law of any association survives.[51] Nor do associations pass by-laws in Leviticus 1–9, chapters which in other respects have many Greek parallels.

The legal element in Greek sacrifice appears to be unique. New literary or archaeological finds may yet prove this impression wrong, but it will take many such finds to do it.

[49] *IG* ii^2 1314, 1315, 1337, 2499, *SEG* XXIV 203.

[50] Lanciers (1993), describing how Egyptian and other foreign priests put Hellenistic rulers through their sacrificial paces.

[51] Laws of a shrine or altar: Wissowa (1912:472–3). *Gentilicia* (sometimes called *privata*) *sacra*: ibid. 403–5. No assemblies and decrees in Cicero's idealized Roman religion: Cic. *Leg*. 2.19–22. Instead Numa bulks larger than any Athenian legislator in matters religious (Liv. 1.20.4–5, Cic. *Rep*. 2.26–7).

CHAPTER 6

Meaty Perks: Epichoric and Topological Trends

Jan-Mathieu Carbon

The butchering of the sacrificial animal and the post-sacrificial division of meat forms an important but only impartially understood facet of the study of Greek sacrifice.[1] Part of the evidence for this subject comes from the fairly abundant group of inscriptions, such as sacrificial calendars and priestly contracts, which form the core of the epigraphical collection known as 'sacred laws'.[2] These texts provide detailed information concerning portions of meat granted to priests and other individuals, as well as those portions set on the altar or cult-table for the god, two categories which were closely connected or even considerably overlapped.

In what follows, it will be possible to provide at least a partial synopsis of priestly perquisites, attested in these inscriptions according to a fascinatingly diverse but coherent anatomical nomenclature.[3] The overall theme of this chapter will be, on the one hand, the commonalities manifest in Greek sacrificial division, and on the other, the variety of declensions of meaty perks observable in different locations (principally Athens and Ionian Asia Minor). In particular, the essential priestly portion deserves to be viewed in a wide perspective, and its correspondence with the divine share in the sacrifice needs to be emphasised anew. The observations and reconsiderations offered here yield a clearer picture of the topology of the sacrificial animal and can lead to a better understanding of the ways in which

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[1] See Ekroth (2007: 250–6) for an overview, and cf. now Ekroth (2011).

[2] For a discussion and survey of 'sacred laws', see the first part of Lupu, *NGSL*, and cf. also now Carbon and Pirenne-Delforge (2012).

[3] Cf. already Stengel (1910) and Puttkammer (1912); more recently, Le Guen-Pollet (1991), esp. 20–2 on the variety of vocabulary.

the divine and priestly portions were arranged and interrelated in the carcass.[4]

The Extended, Fundamental Leg

Perquisites were called by various terms, such as γέρας, 'a privilege of age (or distinction)', and τὰ ἱερώσυνα, which can be literally translated as 'the priestly things'.[5] Yet the fundamental elements of sacrificial division which were given to priests can readily be viewed as twofold, more or less regardless of the animal sacrificed: the hide and a leg.[6] Although animal hides were honorifically and financially important, one ought to view the leg, or a part thereof, as the fundamental meaty perquisite given to priests and other individuals. It is most often designated by the word σκέλος or κωλῆ. In a general sense, the word σκέλος normally seems to refer to the hind leg of a sacrificial animal. Legs are also depicted on vases, usually with the foot attached, as an honorary share which was given to a variety of recipients who were not priests but worthy and deserving individuals.[7] As a visual expression and in terms of butchery, the whole leg was a lengthy item, and the feet and hooves of the sacrificial animal could be viewed as a regular part of the concept of the σκέλος. Several inscriptions concerning priestly perquisites, however, make clear that the feet and hooves of animals were sometimes cut off at the shanks and treated separately.[8] Because they were extremities easily removed from the whole leg, feet did not perhaps form an absolutely essential component of the σκέλος as a priestly perquisite.

Seemingly further distinguished from the leg was the κωλῆ, which most properly designated the thigh or the ham, the meat around the femoral bone which had been extracted as a divine portion.[9] Yet, since the words

[4] Cf. Durand (1979) and Svenbro (1987) for this idea of a topology of the sacrificial animal. But note that, among others, Durand views the entrails as the fundamental meat to be shared (1979: 139–50): 'le centre splanchnique'; cf. also Le Guen-Pollet (1991: 14–16).

[5] Cf. Puttkammer (1912: 1 with n. 1) and, generally, Dignas (2002: 249–50, 262–3).

[6] Puttkammer (1912: 7–10). Cf. e.g. the large corpus of priesthood sales on Cos (*IG* XII 4, 298 and ff.) where these perks are practically *sine qua non*; see now Paul (2013b: 270) and, more widely, Paul (2013a).

[7] Tsoukala (2009) offers a valuable overview of such scenes on Athenian vases of the sixth and fifth centuries BCE, drawing some comparisons with the epigraphic evidence.

[8] This is most apparent in lists of perquisites which include both legs and feet as separate and not obviously conjoined items: e.g. *LSAM* 59 (Iasos, *c.* 400 BCE), *IG* XII 4, 332 B (Cos, *c.* 350 BCE), lines 58–9, and *LSCG* 55 (Athens, first century AD), lines 9–10. Feet were given as perquisites to cultic officials and sacrificants other than the priest: e.g. *LSAM* 72 (Halicarnassus, *c.* 285–250 BCE), line 44.

[9] For both senses of the word, see LSJ s.v. κωλῆ, with Ekroth (2008a: 265 with n. 31). For thighbones, usually called τὰ μηρία or ὁ μηρός in inscriptions, cf. Ekroth (2008a: 269): the femur was normally

σκέλος and κωλῆ seldom occur together in the same text, but clearly designate an analogous priestly portion belonging to the leg of the animal, the two words apparently had a degree of synonymity. Perhaps both could generally refer to meat from the limb, without a truly systematic distinction being observable in the available epigraphical evidence. On Cos, for example, the word σκέλος was exclusively used, irrespectively of the sacrificial animal involved, while at Athens one predominantly finds the κωλῆ.

One possible type of distinction occurs in the sale of a priesthood from the small village of Kasossos in Caria, which is rather unique in containing a reference both to a κωλῆ from an ox and a σκέλος from a ram.[10] Here, the κωλῆ attributed to the priest is carefully weighed, and must not be inferior to 10 *mnai*: using the Attic standard, about 4.3 kg (possibly more if a different standard was used).[11] Assuming that the κωλῆ was deboned, which is likely but not completely certain, it would seem that this was a very substantial portion of meat.[12] However, it comes nowhere near average weights for this general area – the round – in modern beef cuts.[13] Of course, modern oxen have been bred to weigh considerably more than smaller ancient cattle, as can be inferred from the osteological records found in various sanctuaries and from estimates based on nomadic rather than modern industrial cattle.[14] Following these investigations, and since the whole area of the hind legs or round represents about one-fifth of the total carcass, or about 10 per cent per leg or side of round, the meat of each leg would likely have weighed about 10–12.5 kg (i.e. one-quarter to one-fifth of what it usually does today). This approximative estimate is substantially larger than the minimum value of the κωλῆ of beef at Kasossos.

extracted from a rear leg or ham, then wrapped in fat or in the omentum and burned on the altar; see also Ekroth, Chapter 1 in the present volume, for bones as divine portions and for a comprehensive discussion of the osteoarchaeological evidence.

[10] *LSAM* 71, *c.* 200–50 BCE, lines 5–9: ὅταν δὲ ποιῶσιν τυράλφιτον κ[αὶ] θύω|[σι]ν βοῦν, λήψεται τοῦ βοὸς κωλεὸν ἕλ|[κο]ντα μὴ ἔλασσον μ{η}νῶν δέκα· λήψε|[τα]ι δὲ ἐν τῆι θυσίαι ταύτηι δέρμα καὶ | [σ]κέλος ἀφ' οὗ ἂν κριοῦ βούληται.

[11] Cp. Ekroth (2008a: 271 with n. 64).

[12] To put this amount in perspective, it would be at least ten times what an Athenian citizen might typically receive from a κρεανομία (sacrificial meat-distribution) in the fourth century BCE: cf. Rosivach (1994: 158), estimating an 'equally-divided' portion weighing somewhat less than one *mna*.

[13] Cf. e.g. http://beefresearch.org/CMDocs/BeefResearch/Beef%20Cutout%20Calculator.pdf (last consulted 4.2017) for a chart with weights (in pounds) based on modern yields and percentages from the carcass. Excluding trimmings, fat, and bone loss, as well as perhaps the shank, the round usually weighs about 46 kg, or 23 kg per side / hind leg.

[14] Cf. Rosivach (1994: 157–8) for an assessment of the available meat from ancient oxen at *c.* 100 to 120 kg. Note that these values are approximations, but they agree with the figures presented by Dahl and Hjort concerning modern pastoral and nomadic bovine herds (1976: 161–81, esp. here 169–70) for a total value of boneless meat at *c.* 90 to 110 kg).

The term κωλῆ might therefore have signified only a part of the thigh or round (such as the topside or the outside), to which could be added other surrounding cuts of meat in order to ensure that the total weight did not fall below the minimum estimate. Yet this still represented a substantial portion of the leg and its weight may in fact have corresponded to that of the whole σκέλος of ram which was also granted to the priest.[15] Though it is impossible to find absolute values as points of comparison, especially when dealing with different types of sacrificial animal, the example of Kasossos suggests that σκέλος and κωλῆ were to some degree synonymous, but not completely. Both appear to have referred to a similar portion of meat, of roughly commensurate size or weight, and cut from the same area of different animals. But σκέλος remained a more encompassing term for the limb while, in the case of an ox at least, κωλῆ apparently referred to a subset of the whole σκέλος: the thigh, or at least a part of it.

Further examples of qualified thigh portions are in fact readily forthcoming. In two sales of priesthoods from Halicarnassus and its neighbour Theangela, one finds that the priest or priestess was normally granted a thigh and τὰ ἐπὶ κωλῆι νεμόμενα.[16] The latter might signify 'the portions which are distributed in addition to / near the thigh', or alternatively those 'on / upon the thigh', depending on how one interprets the preposition ἐπί. In the first case, the expression might refer to how the ham was butchered and imply that other parts were cut alongside it and distributed with it; in the second, to additional portions (perhaps unrelated to the leg) that were set upon the thigh as it was placed on the cult-table, or reserved for the priest in some other fashion.[17] While the second option is perhaps

[15] Using Rosivach's (n.14 above) value of *c.* 40 kg of meat from a sheep and similar percentages of the carcass, the whole leg of a ram may have weighed *c.* 4 kg or more, corresponding well to the cut from the thigh of the ox.

[16] At Halicarnassus, *LSAM* 73, *c.* 250–200 BCE, lines 9–14: λήψε|ται τῶν θυομένων δημοσίαι ἀφ' ἑκάστου ἱερείου κω|λῆν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ κω<λ>ῆι νεμόμενα καὶ τεταρτημορί|δα σπλάγχνων καὶ τὰ δέρματα, τῶν δὲ ἰδιωτι|κῶν λήψεται κωλῆν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ κωλῆ νεμόμενα | καὶ τεταρτημορίδα σπλάγχνων. At Theangela, only from the largest of the sacrificial animals, *SEG* 29, 1088, *c.* 300–250 BCE, lines 6–9: λήψεται δὲ κωλέ|αν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ κωλέαι νεμόμεν|α τῶν θυομένων ἑνὸς τοῦ μεγί|στου κτλ.

[17] For τραπεζώματα, or 'portions set on the cult-table', cf. Gill (1974: esp. 123–32). Shares of these portions or those 'set aside' (τὰ παρατιθέμενα) on the table were often granted to priests, perhaps usually consisting of the tongue and triple portions of meat, as well as other bloodless offerings, cf. esp. *LSCG* 103 (Minoa, second century BCE), lines 15–20, and *LSAM* 24 (Erythrai, 380–360 BCE), lines 13–25. Doubtless this is also what is implied by the portions 'next to the altar' in *LSAM* 37 (Priene, second century BCE), lines 8–10: λήψεται δὲ ὧν | πόλις θύει σκέλος, γλῶσσαν, δέρμα, παρὰ βω|μοῦ μοίρας. But for the leg specifically placed on the table, cf. e.g. *LSAM* 13 (Pergamon, second century BCE), lines 14–15: σκέλος δεξιὸν καὶ τὰ δέρματα καὶ τἄλλα τραπεζώματα πάντα τὰ παρατιθέμεν[α]; and *LSCG* 90 (Kallatis, second century BCE), line 3: σκέλος ἐπὶ τράπεζαν.

the most straightforward explanation of the phrase and can rightly continue to be considered, the first interpretation is made possible by several parallel examples.

Large, or what one might call 'extended', thighs are mentioned in other epigraphic sources. For instance, a regulation of the *orgeones* of Bendis from the Piraeus in Athens stipulates that if a private citizen performs a sacrifice, the priest or the priestess of the association is to receive money, the hide, and a κωλῆν διανε[κ]ῆ δεξιάν, except in the case where an ox is sacrificed, since the bovine thigh was likely regarded as too substantial a portion to be granted to one individual alone.[18] In the other sacrifices, however, the thigh was specified as coming not only from the right side of the animal, but also as continuous or unbroken (διηνεκής). Literally, this would mean that the thigh formed a continuous portion of meat, which may have been deboned for the purpose of burning the femur separately, but which in doing so was cut along the whole length of that bone. It formed a unified (though butterflied) piece of flesh.[19]

In such cases, then, it would seem that the concern is to offer a thigh *au sens large*. More or less analogous expressions are found, not just for the thigh, but for the leg as a whole. Two inscriptions from Miletus prescribe, among other priestly perquisites, 'a leg which is cut up to (or: into) the groin' (σκέλος εἰς κοτυληδόνα τετμημένον).[20] Intriguingly, it has been argued recently that the phrase could also imply a cut 'into' the groin-area, with a part of the mid-basin remaining attached to the femur.[21] Nevertheless, the portion should correctly be taken to refer to a cut of the leg performed at the joint, as was apparently normal in Greek butchery,

[18] *LSCG* 45 (*c.* 350–300 BCE), lines 4–7: [ἐ]ὰν δὲ ἰδιώτης τις θύηι τῆι θεῶι διδόναι τῆι ἱερέαι | γαλαθηνοῦ μὲν ΙC | [κ]αὶ τὸ δέρμα καὶ κωλῆν διανε[κ]ῆ δεξιάν, τοῦ δὲ τελέου ΙΙΙ | καὶ δέρμα καὶ| [κ]ωλῆν κατὰ ταὐτά, βοὸς δὲ ΙC | καὶ τὸ δέρμα· διδόναι δὲ τὰ ἱερεώσυνα τῶ|[ν μὲ]ν θηλ[ε]ιῶν τῆι ἱερέαι, τῶν δὲ ἀρρένων τῶι ἱερεῖ.

[19] Cf. esp. Hom. *Il.* 7.321–2: νώτοισιν δ' Αἴαντα διηνεκέεσσι γέραιρεν | ἥρως Ἀτρεΐδης εὐρὺ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων; i.e. Agamemnon offers perquisites to Ajax consisting of 'slices cut the whole length of the chine' (LSJ s.v. διηνεκής), or more idiomatically 'with continuous pieces from the back (of the animal)'. Another potentially parallel expression is found at *SEG* 52, 1064 (cf. now I. Stratonikeia 1417, *c.* 350–300 BCE), lines 9–11, where an individual called Leros is granted a κωλέαν ἐξαίρετον, a 'choice' or 'as-extracted' thigh.

[20] Miletus: *LSAM* 48 (276/5 BCE), lines 16–18: διδότω γέρη τῆι ἱερείαι σπλάγχνα, νεφ[ρόν,] | σκολιόν, ἱερὰμ μοῖραν, γλῶσσαν, σκέλος εἰς κοτυληδόνα [ἐκ|τ]ετμημένον (the restoration [ἐκ|τ]ετμημένον, accepted by Milet VI,3 1222, is to be deprecated); and *LSAM* 52B (AD 14–50), lines 4–7: καὶ διδ<ό>τωσαν τῶι ἱερεῖ σπλάγχνα, | νεφρόν, σκολιόν, ἱερὰν μοῖραν, | γλῶσ<σ>αν, σκέλος | δεξιὸν εἰς κοτυληδόνα τετμημένον καὶ | τὴν δορὰν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἱερά. For the interpretation of εἰς as 'up to' the hip-joint rather than 'into' the hip, cf. Puttkammer (1912: 10): 'pernam exsecandam esse usque ad acetabulum, quod circa coxendix vertitur'.

[21] Cf. Ekroth (2008a: 264), citing corroborative osteological evidence, but treating this as perhaps a local form of butchery.

and specifically in this case a cut at the hip-socket in which the thighbone is lodged. This was in fact a normal way of cutting a thigh or leg, up to the hip, which also implied an 'extended' conception of this area of the sacrificial animal.

A case from a city not far from Miletus can be adduced as indicating that the whole leg was regularly envisioned as a continuous portion in relation to other adjacent bones and cuts of meat. A set of inscribed rules concerning the priest of Zeus Megistos at Iasos specifies that he is to receive one of the legs of the animals sacrificed 'with the ὀσφῦς' (σὺν τῆι ὀσφύϊ).[22] The ὀσφῦς strictly speaking refers to the sacrum bone, which is found at the base of the spine, inserted in the pelvic cavity, and which also connects to the first part of the tailbone of an animal.[23] At Iasos, after either being burned or having been set aside, the portion was granted to the priest, presumably as an intact portion containing the bone, but also very likely with a little hip-meat or even more substantial portions of the loins, depending on the norms of butchering the animal.[24] The ὀσφῦς was very likely cut out separately from the hip, while the leg was presumably cut, as at Miletus and elsewhere, in one continuous portion up to the hip-socket. However, the language of the text from Iasos also suggests that the leg and the ὀσφῦς formed a closely associated or unified pair, which had to be deposited and distributed together as the most important meaty perquisites granted to the priest.[25]

More Legs: The 'Sacred Portion' Revisited

The idea of a 'divine' or 'sacred' portion is sometimes found in lists of priestly perquisites, and has long been a subject of interest to scholars of Greek religion.[26] A recent analysis of the material relating to the Greek

[22] *LSAM* 59 (*c.* 500–400 BCE), lines 1–3: λαμβανέτω δὲ τῶν θυομένων | σκέλος ἓν, ὁποῖον ἂν θέληι, σὺν τῆι ὀσφύϊ, ὡς ἐκ[τέμν]εται ἡ ὀσφύς, εἰάν τε πολλὰ ἐξά|γηι ἱερέα εἰάν τε ἓν, καὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ πόδας [καὶ] σπλ[άγχνων] τέταρτομ μέρος. Note that the reading in line 2, ὡς ἐκ[τέμν]εται, has now been deprecated according to a revision undertaken by R. Fabiani in an article in *Kernos* 29 (Fabiani 2016), which helps to elucidate the readings and lacunae in the earlier copy. The inscription now appears to refer to the deposition and placement of the sacrum, presumably on the altar or cult-table. This may relate closely to the phrase at Halicarnassus studied above and at n. 16. However, the idea of distribution of portions also remains in play, since the reading σὺν τῆι ὀσφύϊ is assured.

[23] Cf. Ekroth (2009) for a more extended conception of the ὀσφῦς, including the tail.

[24] For ὀσφῦς referring specifically to the loins or the lower part of the back, cf. e.g. Arist. *Hist. an.* 493a22; more generally, as an element of sacrificial division and of the divine portion, cf. the literary sources cited in LSJ s.v. For the prized value attributed to the meat of the back, cf. Ekroth (2008a: 266), though to what extent this could be a modern point of view remains unclear.

[25] A similar conclusion in Ekroth (2009), from the iconographic and osteological evidence.

[26] See e.g. Stengel (1910: 169–71), on terms such as ἱερώσυνα and θεομοιρία.

expression ἱερὰ μοῖρα, 'sacred portion', has been proposed by Nora Dimitrova. Her attractive argument is that the term had both a flexible point of reference and a specific one. Ἱερὰ μοῖρα referred to a divine share in a wide sense, while also more specifically designating a portion from the area of the lower back or tail of the sacrificial animal.[27] Dimitrova also investigated lists of perquisites containing a ἱερὰ μοῖρα in order to suggest that the placement of this portion is significant, usually coming after the intestines or the kidney, and preceding the tongue or the ham.[28] Taken together with the fact that ἱερὰ μοῖρα is never found in the same text or list as the ὀσφῦς, these observations led Dimitrova to argue that the terms ἱερὰ μοῖρα and ὀσφῦς were essentially interchangeable or at least partially synonymous.

However, only one of the texts adduced by Dimitrova reflects an order which could imply that the ἱερὰ μοῖρα was butchered or classified alongside the leg or ham. This is the inscription from Thebes on Mount Mykale, near Priene, where the priest of Zeus and Poseidon is attributed the following list of perks: 'the tongue, the (small?) intestine, a kidney, a sacred portion, a thigh, and the fleeces of the sacrificial animals'.[29] But at nearby Miletus, where the epigraphical evidence is a bit more abundant and the lists of perquisites are relatively consistent, one always finds the sacred portion attributed after the crooked (i.e. small) intestine and before the tongue.[30] If there is an order represented here, it does not suggest that ἱερὰ μοῖρα designated the ὀσφῦς or a part of the lower back. Furthermore, the very fact that one finds the ὀσφῦς listed as a perquisite in other contemporary Milesian documents might lead one to suppose the contrary, namely that ἱερὰ μοῖρα ought not to designate this part of the animal but something else instead.[31]

The expression ἱερὰ μοῖρα surely remains rather unusual compared to the more common term ὀσφῦς. The ὀσφῦς was an important component

[27] Dimitrova (2008: 257). [28] Dimitrova (2008: 256).

[29] *LSAM* 40 (*c.* 300 BCE), lines 4–6: λαμβάνων γλῶσσαν, | σκολιόν, νεφρό[ν, ἰε]ρὴν μοῖραν, κωλῆν | καὶ τὰ κώιδια τῶν θυομένων. Cf. also perhaps the very fragmentary list in the sale of a priesthood from Mylasa, *LSAM* 63 (first century BCE), lines 4–5: [γέρη | δὲ λήψεται τῶ]ν θυομένων [πάντων, ἀφ' ἑκάστου ἰ]ερείου, κωλειὸν [..ca. 5.. |..ca. 4.. ἱερὰν? μοῖ]ραν καὶ ἐν τῆι [..ca.5..]. The restoration is plausible but far from certain, and an association of the thigh with the ἱερὰ μοῖρα cannot be claimed here given the extent of the lacunae.

[30] There are three cases from Miletus: *LSAM* 44 (*c.* 400 BCE, civic sacrifices), lines 6–7: [σ]κολιὸν καὶ [ἰ]ερὴμ μοί[ρ|η]ν καὶ τὰς γλώσσας πά[σ]|ας; *LSAM* 48 (276/5 BCE), line 17: σκολιόν, ἱερὰμ μοῖραν, γλῶσσαν; and *LSAM* 52 (AD 14–50), line B5: σκολιόν, ἱερὰν μοῖραν, γλῶσ<σ>αν.

[31] Cf. *LSAM* 46 (*c.* 300 BCE), lines 2–3 and 6, discussed immediately below; and *LSAM* 50 (Hellenistic copy of a Classical inscription), lines 8–9 and 34–8; see now Herda (2006) with extensive discussion. Yet it must be admitted that a definitive proof, viz. a text that would cite both the ὀσφῦς and the ἱερὰ μοῖρα or θεομοιρία, has not been found.

of the normal sets of priestly prerogatives, whether attributed on its own or closely tied to the 'extended' concept of the leg. This aspect of butchery in fact appears to be emphasised in one of the texts from Miletus, which is fragmentary but contains various lists of perquisites granted in the cult of Apollo. In three cases, when one or more animals are sacrificed, one finds an ὀσφὺν δασέαν assigned to the priest.[32] The adjective δασύς, qualifying the sacrum or the meat around it, has been variously interpreted, with some arguing that it literally meant that the sacrum was cut out from the back of the animal with the hide still attached – it was thus a 'shaggy' ὀσφῦς – while others cautiously aired the idea that the ὀσφῦς had 'a lot of meat attached to it'.[33] The correct interpretation had already been suggested by Puttkammer at the beginning of the last century, who cited a lexicographical interpretation for the adjective δασύς as signifying 'continuous' or 'conjoined', much like the term διηνεκής.[34] In other words, the ὀσφῦς formed a solid segment of meat and bone, inclusive of other parts of the hip, or the tail. It was thus envisioned as a necessary component of the divine and priestly perquisites, as at Iasos above.[35] In the sacrificial calendar of Mykonos, to cite another example, both an ὀσφῦς and a thigh were attributed as benefits after the sacrifice of two sows.[36] The ὀσφῦς, likely in its 'extended' conception, remained a central honorific share in sacrifices, from the earliest epigraphical evidence to the Roman period.[37]

Beyond the sacrum and loins proper, one should also consider the extent to which the hip or parts of the hip were specifically attributed as perquisites. At Ialysos, for example, one finds the ὀσφῦς closely associated with a portion called the ἀκρίσχιον in a list of sacrificial portions.[38]

[32] *LSAM* 46 (*c.* 300 BCE), lines 1–3: ἦν ἓν θ[ύη]ται, λά[ψε|ται γλῶσ]σαν, ὀσφὺν δασέαν, ὧρην· ἦν δὲ πλέω θύηται λάψεται ἀπ' ἐκάστου ὀσφὺ[ν | δασ]ξέαν καὶ γλῶσσαν καὶ κωλῆν μίαν ἀπὸ πάντων; and lines 5–6: ἦν δὲ εὐστὸν θύηι ἡ πόλις λάψεται γλῶσ|σαν, ὀσφὺν δασέαν, ὧρην.

[33] Cf. Sokolowski ap. *LSAM* 46, who opts for the latter: 'le terme signifierait "une hanche avec beaucoup de viande" ', an interpretation that appears to be followed by Dimitrova (2008).

[34] Puttkammer (1912: 11): 'Accedit Hesych. δασύ· συνέχες, quae vox idem fere valet atque illud διανεκῆ supra allatum'.

[35] Cf. e.g. the distinction of ὀσφῦς from κωλῆ in A. *Pr.* 497–8.

[36] *LSCG* 96 (*c.* 200 BCE), lines 11–15: τῆι αὐτῆι ἡμέραι Δήμητρι Χλόηι ὗες | δύο καλλιστεύουσαι· ἡ ἑτέρα ἐγκύμ[ων]· νῶτογ κόπτετα[ι] | τῆς ἐγκύμονος· τὰς ὗς βο[υλ]ὴ κ[ρινέ]τ[ω]· μφ[γ]ίρωι ἄρχοντες | διδόντων ὀσφὺν καὶ κωλῆν τῆς ὑὸς τῆς ἑτέρης, ἁλφίτω[ν] | δύο χοίνικας, οἴνου τρεῖς κοτύλ[α]ς. The ὀσφῦς and the thigh are thus attributed from the non-pregnant sow which is perhaps sacrificed normally, while the other – pregnant – sow, has its back cut out, hypothetically to be burned separately with its ὀσφῦς on the altar, while the rest of the animal carcass was perhaps treated otherwise (in a ἁγίζειν-type of ritual). A revision of this calendar shows that the perquisites in question were not attributed to a *mageiros*, but rather to a priestess.

[37] For the later period, cp. the remarkable attribution of the ὀσφῦς as an honorific portion to the founder of a cult site at Uruk, *I. Estremo Oriente* 140 (AD 110), lines 15–17.

[38] *LSS* 93, and see further p. 165 below with n. 61.

The ἀκρίσχιον ('tip(s) of the hip') is properly understood as the flesh around the hip-joints, also called the haunches, but it can also be envisioned as the top of the thighs. In the sacrifice to Zeus Polieus from the calendar of Cos, this portion is attributed separately to the incense-bearer, but it explicitly comes from the leg which is given to the main sacrificial agents, the *hieropoioi*.[39] This sacrifice features an extensive and minutely detailed sacrificial division, but one might reasonably assume that the ἀκρίσχιον was elsewhere attributed with the leg. Such parts of the hip thus also fall under the general rubric of the 'extended' leg which has been outlined here.[40] Much the same could be said of the expression πλευρὸν ἰσχίο, 'a side of hip', which is found listed as a perquisite, usually immediately after the thigh, in Athenian inscriptions.[41] And yet another related term, the πρότμησις, is found as a perquisite in two sales of priesthoods, one from Sinope, and one from Chios: this perhaps involved cuts made around the navel or the loins of the animal, very close to the pelvic bone.[42]

Therefore, though it is clear that the ὀσφῦς and the hip were parts closely, sometimes inextricably, associated with the fundamental divine and priestly share of the leg or thigh, it is also evident that the expression ἱερὰ μοῖρα can only tentatively be associated with this area of the sacrificial animal. On the other hand, an obviously related expression, θεομοιρία or θευμορία, literally the 'divine portion', leads us in a different direction, namely from the rear of the sacrificial animal to its front.[43] One can propose a revised interpretation of the relevant passages where this word occurs, in two inscriptions from Cos. In both cases, a specific shoulder (ὦμος) is attributed, the one 'from which the θεομοιρία is cut out'.[44] This

[39] *IG* XII 4, 278 (*c.* 350 BCE), line 52: θυαφόρωι δὲ τοῦ σκέλεος τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν δίδοται ἀκρίσχιον. Cp. also *IG* XII 4, 332, lines 32–3.

[40] Cf. LSJ s.v., noting also the expression κεφαλὴ τοῦ μηροῦ at e.g. Hp. Art. 53 and 58.

[41] Cf. most clearly the repeated lists in the account from Aixone, *SEG* 54, 214 (*c.* 400–375 BCE): κωλῆν, πλευρὸν ἰσχίο; and see below pp. 167–8 for further discussion.

[42] Sinope: *LSAM* 1 (third century BCE), lines 5–8, with the restorations of Puttkammer (1912: 9–10), καὶ λήψ[εται τῶν ἱερείων τῶν] | δημοσίαι θυομένων δέ[ρματα πάντα? . . . ca.7 . . .], | πρότμησιγ, γλῶσσαν· τῶν δὲ [ἰδιωτικῶν λήψεται] | πρότμησιν ἢ ὠμοπλάτην· καὶ στε̣[φανηφορήσει . . .]. It is tempting also to restore a leg or thigh in the lacuna preceding the first πρότμησις. Chios (fifth century BCE): Parker (2006, lines 10–11), [ὁ ἰδιώ]της τῆι ἱρῆι διδ[ότ]ω σκέλ[ος δε|ξιὸν(?) – – – πρό] τμησιγ, <γ>νάθον εὐ[ώ]νυμο[ν – – –]; Parker (2006: 76) discusses the meaning of the term, distinguishing it from the ὀσφῦς (but see LSJ s.v. πρότμησις).

[43] Cf. now Ekroth (2013) on forelegs, paying more attention both to the osteological and the iconographic evidence than is possible here.

[44] The first case occurs in the sacrifice to Zeus Machaneus in the Coan calendar, *IG* XII 4, 274 (*c.* 350 BCE), lines 18–21: γέρη δὲ Φυλεομ|αχίδαις δίδοται τοῦ βοὸς ὁπλά, τ̣α̣ρσός, τῶν δὲ ὀίων τὸ ὠμόν̣ | ἐξ οὗ ἁ θεομοιρία τάμνεται καὶ τ[. . . 5..]ος· γέρη λαμβάνει ὁ ἱα|ρ̣εὺς σκέλη καὶ δέρματα. The editors of

'divine portion' must therefore have been a bone or a cut of meat connected to the shoulder of the animal, which was presumably offered on the altar. A related perquisite was given to the priest or honorand afterwards, apparently the whole of the remaining shoulder. Some of the foreleg of the animal, which would have been connected to this shoulder, may also have been granted as part of this priestly perquisite, since the term ὦμος can also designate the upper arm or the foreleg above the knee.

Such an interpretation of the texts from Cos, involving a portion cut from the shoulder of the animal, is particularly attractive since there are several Greek terms for designating analogous or related portions from the shoulders.[45] One of these, μασχαλίσματα, appears to refer specifically to 'portions of meat cut off from the armpits', which seem to have formed a part of the divine portion set on the altar in a cult regulation from the Attic deme of Phrearrhioi, along with μηρούς (thighbones), as well as half the head of the animal.[46] A term which is somewhat akin, ὑπώμαια, may

IG XII 4, following Sokolowski *LSCG* 151B, interpret ὠμόν as a 'piece of raw meat', commenting: 'vix ὦμον, quam formam alteram vocis ὦμος subposuit Herzog HGK 2'. However, that interpretation is extremely unlikely given the abundance of evidence for shoulders and forelegs presented by Ekroth (2013) and also here. Furthermore, a substantive τὸ ὠμόν, 'the piece of raw meat' is epigraphically unattested and hardly expected as a perquisite. Given the poor state of preservation of the stone, an original reading of τὸ[ν] ὦμον is perfectly possible; if not, one must read: τὸ<ν> ὦμον. In line 20, restore perhaps τ[αρσ]ός – on the analogy of the previous line: τοῦ βοὸς ὀπλά, τ̣α̣ρσός – thus granting both the shoulder and foreleg, as well as the lower shank or ankle. The second case is provided by *IG* XII 4, 339 (200–150 BCE), lines 19–23: τ[ᾶς δὲ] | δαμάλιος ἃς κα θύσω[ντι διδό]|μεν γέρη τᾶι ἱερῆι τὸ [σκέλος] | ἐξ οὗ ἁ θευμορί[α διανειμάσθω,] | ταῖς γεραιραῖ [ς – — —]. *Pace IG*, one should surely restore this passage on the analogy of the first case in the calendar: . . . γέρη τᾶι ἱερῆι τὸ[ν ὦμον] | ἐξ οὗ ἁ θευμορί[α τάμνεται καὶ] | ταῖς γεραιραῖ[ς – — —]; another perk of *c.* 6–7 letters will have followed, perhaps again the shanks or feet: [ταρσός] or similar. For steps in this direction, but more cautiously, cf. Paul (2013a: 346–51) and (2013b: 270–2).

[45] There are also literary sources for shoulders as customary perquisites, cf. e.g. Trag. Adesp. 458 which relates how Oedipus' sons would customarily give their father a superior ὦμος from sacrifices of lambs: θυσίας [γὰρ] ἀπαρχὴν γέρας ἐπέμποσεν πατρί | περισσὸν ἀρνῶν ὦμον, ἔκκριτον κρέας. On this subject, see Cingano (2004).

[46] *NGSL* 3 (*c.* 300–250 BCE), lines 15–21: ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς βωμοὺ[ς – — —]|ι μηροὺς μασχαλίσματα ἡμίκ<ρ>α[ιρα – — – μ]|ηροὺς μασχαλίσματα ἡμίκραιρ[α – — —] | ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἐν τῶι Ἐλευσινίω[ι – — – τῶι τ]|οῦ Πλούτωνος βωμῶι ἱερεώσυν[α – — – τοῖν θε]|οῖν τῶν βω<μ>ῶν τῆι ἱερείαι κα[— – — πλε]|υρὸν ἰσχίον. In the final lacuna, doubtless another thigh [κωλῆν] is to be restored before the phrase [πλε]υρὸν ἰσχίον, though one cannot also restore a half-head (ἡμίκραιρα) in this case. On μασχαλίσματα, cf. the comm. *NGSL*, 166–8, with Hsch. and Suda s.v. A more extensive discussion can be found in Lupu (2003), who considers the purported confusion with the Greek ritual called ὠμοθετεῖν, where raw pieces of meat from the shoulders were placed on the thighs to be burned on the altar (a 'confusion' between 'raw' and 'shoulder' possibly also reflected in the uncertain reading on Cos, above n. 44). But Lupu rightly argues that the name of the ritual was derived from the association of the shoulders with pieces of meat from the armpits, since these were culinarily related cuts, and he concludes that the μασχαλίσματα might then constitute a 'first-fruit offering' to be burned on the altar.

literally have signified 'pieces from under the shoulders'.[47] Yet since these were granted to the herald in the sacrifice for Zeus Polieus on Cos along with two pieces from the back, one can reasonably conclude that ὑπώμαια are not directly equivalent to the θεομοιρία. Instead, such cuts may have constituted a valuable, honorary perquisite by their association with the area of the shoulder (ὦμος) from which the θεομοιρία was cut (as well as in their own right of course).

In any case, one could perhaps also envision the Milesian ἱερὰ μοῖρα, usually separated from the legs in lists of perquisites, as referring to a portion from the front of the animal, rather than as a less plausible synonym for ὀσφῦς. Such a 'sacred portion' could well have been a cut from the shoulders, much like the θεομοιρία on Cos, the μασχαλίσματα placed on the altar, or even the shoulder-blade itself. This interpretation does not exclude the possibility that ἱερὰ μοῖρα could sometimes be a more generic term for the divine portion as a whole or even for the ὀσφῦς in some cases. But in epigraphical lists of perquisites it was most likely a technical term for a specific cut of meat or bone: though the exact referent is elusive, the topological sense is nevertheless fairly clear.

The front of the animal was indeed an equally important sacrificial locus, a reflection of the topology of the ham, hip and ὀσφῦς. In the preceding discussion, both σκέλος and κωλῆ have been taken, as is usual in current scholarship, to refer to the hind legs of the animals sacrificed. Recently, Gunnel Ekroth has persuasively analysed how the hind legs of the animals would contain much more meat than the forelegs, and thus often be privileged.[48] But both constituted suitable offerings for the god and the priest. A degree of uncertainty therefore remains: while κωλῆ should always properly refer to a ham from a hind leg, can σκέλος mean a foreleg in some instances? One case where σκέλος might explicitly refer to a foreleg is a fragment concerning a hereditary cultic foundation established in or near the sanctuary of Zeus at Labraunda in Caria, where the proposed restorations suggest that the γέρας here consisted in 'a leg with the shoulder-blade (scil. attached)'.[49] In other inscriptions, such an

[47] Cos: *IG* XII 4, 278 (*c.* 350 BCE), lines 52–3: [κάρυ|ξι *ν*]ὥτου δίκρεας, ὑπώμαια, αἱματίου ὀβελὸς τρικώλιος. The adjective ὑπώμαιος could be used to qualify forelegs or forefeet, but if we have the neuter plural as a substantive here, then a more generic meaning of 'under-shoulder-cuts' is probable; cp. LSJ s.v. (ἡ) ὑπωμία, 'the part under the shoulder'.

[48] Ekroth (2013).

[49] *I. Labraunda* 57 (second century AD), lines B15–16: [.....ca. 21..... γέ]ρας σκέλ[ο]ς μετ[ὰ ὠμο|πλ]άτη[ς ....]. One could perhaps restore in the first lacuna something like: [λήψεται δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς (ὡς?)] vel sim. The restoration μετ[ὰ ὠμο|πλ]άτη[ς], though rather uncertain, is made plausible by the fact

interpretation is more tentative, as in the case of the cult of Men Tyrannos in Attica, where the god receives a right-hand σκέλος, while the sacrificant may take away a leg and a shoulder (ὦμον), perhaps implying a foreleg cut with the shoulder attached to it.[50]

Furthermore, a variety of other terms relating to shoulders and forelegs are found attributed as perquisites, which reinforce the impression that one is dealing with two different but not incompatible conceptions of the 'extended' leg as a perquisite. At Mykonos, for example, in the sacrifice to Poseidon Temenites, one observes an elaborate ritual. The back and shoulder-blade (πλάτη) of a sacrificed ram are to be cut off. This shoulder-blade is to be literally 'libated' – most likely poured over with a libation and consecrated, thus perhaps constituting the θεομοιρία in this case – while the tongue and the forelimb (βραχίων) are to be given to the priest.[51] The term βραχίων may then designate the specific foreleg or shoulder from which the shoulder-blade was removed and consecrated.

The shoulder likewise constitutes the main perquisite given to the priest in the cult of Amphiaraos at Oropus.[52] Even more strikingly, a recently published inscription from Patara in Lycia concerns the cult of Zeus of Labraunda and prescribes, if the interpretation is correct, that those sacrificing are to give to the priest 'a portion equal to the shoulder-blade' (πλάτα<ι> ἴσον).[53] It is not clear if this portion was meant to be equal in size or weight to the shoulder-blade or simply equal in value, but it is surely significant that this priestly perquisite is called an ἀπαρχή (a 'first-fruit offering'), a term that was paralleled or equated with θευμορία, the 'divine

that one finds [γέ]ρας in the singular here, and so one expects a single portion to have been given. Cf. also n. 53 (below) for the importance of the shoulder-blade in a cult of Zeus Labraundos.

[50] *LSCG* 55 (first century AD), lines 9–10: παρέχειν δὲ καὶ τῶι θεῶι τὸ καθῆκον, δεξιὸν | σκέλος καὶ δορὰν καὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ πόδας καὶ στηθύνιον; and lines 17–18: (ὁ . . . θυσιάζων) λαμβανέτωι δὲ τῆς θυσίας ἧς | ἂν φέρῃ σκέλος καὶ ὦμον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ κατακοπτέτω <ἐν τῶι> ἱερῶι.

[51] *LSCG* 96 (*c.* 200 BCE), lines 7–8: νῶτογ καὶ πλάτη κόπτεται· ἡ πλάτη σπένδε|ται· τῶι ἱερεῖ γλῶσσα καὶ βραχίων. For the libation involving the shoulder-blade at Mykonos, Ekroth attractively suggests (per litt.) that it would be easily cut free from meat and sinews in the back, and could thereafter be used, not exactly as a shallow libation vessel like a *phiale*, but either to create a heavy splash, or to drizzle on it more slowly, causing 'the liquid [to] pour along the fan-shape of the bone [which] could be directed in a specific direction if so desired'. An alternative would be to read the verb σπένδειν with an eye towards an etymological meaning, as 'to consecrate' or 'to sacrifice': see Mouton, Chapter 12 in this volume. For the foreleg, cp. also lines 30–2 of the same text, for Apollo Hekatombaios: νῶτον | τοῦ ταύρου κόπτεται· τῶι ἱερεῖ τοῦ ταύρου δίδοται γλῶσ|σα καὶ βραχίων.

[52] *LSCG* 59 (386–374 BCE if we follow Rhodes and Osborne: no. 27, pp. 130–2), lines 32–6: τοῖ δὲ | ἱερεῖ διδοῦν τὸς θύοντας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱερήου ἑκ|άστο τὸν ὦμον πλὴν ὅταν ἡ ἑορτὴ εἶ, τότε δὲ ἀπ|ὸ τῶν δημορίων λαμβανέτω ὦμον ἀφ' ἑκάστου ν | ν τοῦ ἱερήου.

[53] *SEG* 57, 1674 (third century BCE): τοὺς θύοντας | Διὶ Λαβραύνδωι | ἢ τῶν ἐντεμενίων θεῶν τινι | διδόναι τῶι ἱερεῖ ἀπαρχὴν | ἀφ' ἑκάστου ἱερέου πλάτα<ι> ἴσον, following the convincing interpretation of this last phrase by A. Chaniotis, EBGR (2007 (*Kernos* 23 [2010]) 293 no. 45.

portion' by the lexicographer Hesychius.[54] In several sacrifices then, the shoulder and the shoulder-blade from the foreleg formed the fundamental portion, an interrelated divine and priestly prerogative.

In addition, one sometimes finds an alternative between fore- and hind legs and their respective portions, notably in a pair of inscriptions from Asia Minor. The sale of priesthood of Poseidon Helikonios from Sinope presents the priest with a choice of perquisites where sacrifices performed by private individuals are concerned: either a πρότμησις (portion around the hips) or a shoulder-blade (ὠμοπλάτη).[55] It is worth recalling that Sinope was a Milesian colony, and in a text already cited from Miletus one perhaps finds a similar dichotomy. If many animals are sacrificed or rituals are performed for other gods in the *temenos* of Apollo, the priest is to receive a single thigh, in exchange for his habitual ὄρη from the animals, unless another official, the *basileus*, takes that thigh as his prerogative.[56] The interpretation of the word ὄρη remains somewhat uncertain: it could refer to the tail, a portion connected to the ὀσφῦς, alongside which it occurs here (at Miletus). But the tail is usually called οὐρά or οὐρή, and another etymological derivation for ὄρη is possible which would instead make it signify a foreleg or a part thereof.[57] The latter explanation would thus yield another counterbalancing between fore- and hind legs, between ὄρη and κωλῆ.

A final inscription which juxtaposes fore- and hind legs, and on which Robert Parker has recently provided an invaluable commentary, probably comes from Tlos in Lycia.[58] The fascinating text relates to the foundation

[54] Hsch. s.v. θευμορία. The term ἀπαρχή and the vague phrase with ἴσον likely emphasise a connection with the supra-human sphere, by formulating the γέρας of the priest as a 'divine offering equivalent to the shoulder-blade'; contrast Jim (2011) who finds the phrase 'obscure'.

[55] As opposed to those performed for the city, cf. *LSAM* 1 (third century BCE), lines 7–8: τῶν δὲ [ἰδιωτικῶν λήψεται] | πρότμησιν ἢ ὠμοπλάτην.

[56] *LSAM* 46 (*c.* 300 BCE), lines 1–6: ἢν ἓν θ[ύη]ται, λά[ψε|ται γλῶσ]σαν, ὀσφὺν δασέαν, ὄρην· ἢν δὲ πλέω θύηται λάψεται ἀπ' ἐκάστου ὀσφὺ[ν | δασ]έαν καὶ γλῶσσαν καὶ κωλῆν μίαν ἀπὸ πάντων· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν τῶν | [ἐν]τεμενίων ὅσων ἱερᾶται ὁ ἱέρεως, λάψεται τὰ γέρεα τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ κωλῆν ἀντὶ | [τῆ]ς ὄρης ἢμ μὴ βασιλεὺς λαμβάνηι· ἢν δὲ εὐστὸν θύηι ἡ πόλις λάψεται γλῶσ|σαν, ὀσφὺν δασέαν, ὄρην.

[57] Cf. schol. ad Hom. *Od.* 12.89, which comments: ἀώρους Ἀρίσταρχος ἀκώλους, τοὺς γάρ Ἴωνας λέγειν φασὶ τὴν κῶλην ὄρην καὶ ὥραιαν. LSJ s.v. ὥρα (B) cites this, while rightly noting that the Milesian inscription clearly distinguishes the thigh from the ὄρη or ὄρη. However, the confusion between the ham and tail would have been rather surprising even for the scholiast: the apparent equation between the thigh and the ὄρην must be treated as significant if not completely true. In my opinion, the solution can still be gleaned from LSJ, who also adduce ἄωροι πόδες, meaning 'first-feet' or 'forefeet'. The word ὄρη or ὄρη could thus be viewed as an Ionic lexeme referring to the forelegs, comparable e.g. to βραχίων on Mykonos; note also the parallel dialectic between ὑπώμαιοι πόδες (Arat. 144) and the substantive ὑπώμαια on Cos.

[58] Parker (2010a), second century BCE.

of a cult honoring Symmasis and his wife Mamma by a society of metal-workers, who organised sacrifices to the god Helios during which these individuals were granted sacrificial perquisites. The perquisites attributed to them are remarkable, since they involve the society 'serving Symmasis with a further portion, from the rear leg (?), and for his wife Mamma a further portion from the front leg (?), for as long as Symmasis lives, in addition to the regular portion'.[59] Though the expressions are distinctive or unique, Parker is surely correct to interpret the phrases ἄλλην μερίδα ἐπίκωλον ὀπισθίαν / ἐμπροσθίαν as referring to the front and hind areas of the animal respectively, rather than qualifying the front and back of a leg itself.[60] In other words, this inscription, though idiosyncratic, provides a neat summary of the dialectic between the fore- and the hind quarters of the animal which has been noted as a prominent feature of Greek sacrifice, as well supplying a further confirmation of the consistently perceived need to offer an enlarged or additive part of the leg as a fundamental perquisite. This extended conception of the leg doubtless had some basis in the simple requirement to provide the priest with a valuable and substantial portion of meat, but through its connection with the divine share that was offered on the altar – be it the thighbone, the ὀσφῦς, the shoulder-blade, pieces from the shoulder, the θεομοιρία or the ἱερὰ μοῖρα, or several of the above – it also very closely associated the honorand with the gods.

Epichoric Lists and Topological Groupings

The topology of the extended area around the leg, whether at the front or the rear of the sacrificial animal, thus formed the core of the divine portion and the meaty perk. Yet in several inscriptions defining ritual norms, one finds lists of perquisites usually granted to priests that exceed the essential requirement of a leg, thigh, or shoulder. The following is an attempt to analyse some of these lists in order to identify whether or not they reveal a particular structure or order, as well as any local characteristics.

[59] Parker (2010a: 104–6 for the text, 106–8 for the translation); here lines A5–11: παραθήσουσιν δὲ Συμμασει | καὶ ἄλλην ἐπίκωλον μερίδα | ὀπισθίαν καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐ|τ[ο]ῦ Μαμμας ἄλλην μερίδα ἐπ[ί]|κωλον ἐμπροσθίαν ὅσον ἂν χρό|νον [ζ]ῇ Συμμασις πρὸ<ς> τῇ γεινο|μενῇ μερίδι. I suggest that one should perhaps read ἐπὶ κῶλον μερίδα κτλ., i.e. an admittedly abrupt parenthetical expression ἐπὶ (τὸ) κῶλον, rather than a new compound word ἐπίκωλον meaning 'from the thigh'. This would entail much the same meaning, namely portions situated or placed 'on the limb', perhaps much like τὰ ἐπὶ κωλῆι νεμόμενα at Halicarnassus (n.16 above), but it would remove the apparent problem of a word based on κωλῆ which refers to a foreleg Parker (2010a: 106 with n. 8).

[60] Parker (2010a: 106 with n. 8, and p. 116) for further exploration of the ritual details.

One of the most fascinating series of cuts of meat was found inscribed on a large block of stone at Ialysos.[61] Though the inscription is only partly preserved and the precise character of the text remains somewhat uncertain, it appears to contain a list of sacrificial perquisites which would normally be granted to priests, but which could equally well have been prescribed as a divine portion.[62] The list contains seven elements, separated into at least two distinct groups. The first four are all connected by 'and' (καί), and concern cuts from this fundamental core of the sacrificial animal: three cuts of meat from the right shoulder, followed by three ribs or a triple portion of the chest (τρίπλευρον), the sacrum bone and/or meat around it (the ὀσφῦς), and a cut from the top of the hip or thighs (ἀκρίσχιον). The three cuts of meat from the right shoulder must belong to a front leg, which was connected at the scapula. The resemblance between this triple portion at Ialysos and 'the shoulder from which the divine portion was cut' on Cos, or the 'armpit bits' (μασχαλίσματα) at Athens, is also striking.

The word τρίπλευρον is rare and somewhat enigmatic. With its three-fold aspect, it naturally belongs with the triple cut of meat from the shoulder found here, but it can hardly refer to a 'three-sided' cut of meat. In its etymological connection to πλευρόν, it would appropriately seem to refer to a portion from the rib-cage of the animal: probably a 'triple-rib' or 'tri-rib'. The word is only found in a few other inscriptions, once in a plural form which makes the identification of the cut of meat equally difficult. This is a decree from Pergamon, inscribed on a stele among other regulations at the initiative of a *hieronomos*, which begins: 'Since it was the earlier custom for those sacrificing to Athena Nikephoros to give, along with the usual perquisites to the goddess, more τρίπλευρα to other (officials) who take care of the sanctuary'.[63] As becomes clear, the

[61] *LSS* 93 (Ialysos, second century BCE): ΚΑΙΕΣΤΙ ὦμου δεξιοῦ κρῆ τρία καὶ τρίπλευρον καὶ ὀσφῦς | καὶ ἀκρίσχιον, κεφαλᾶς ἥμυσυ, γλῶσσαν, ἐγκέφαλον. The stone is a large block, perhaps belonging to an altar, which was reused as a statue base; it remains difficult to know whether the text began on an adjacent block or was simply an excerpt from a larger document.

[62] Both G. Pugliese-Carratelli, in the original edition 'Nuovo supplemento epigrafico rodio', ASAA 33–4 (1955–6) 164 no. 14, and Sokolowski (*LSS* 93) interpret the text as referring to priestly perquisites. Yet the absence of the leg, except for the meat from the shoulder, is striking, unless it was described in an earlier part of the text. The first expression, ΚΑΙΕΣΤΙ, remains problematic and has been variously interpreted, though perhaps the more straightforward reading, καὶ ἔστι or καὶ ἔστι<ν>, is the best. It would thus simply introduce the list of portions that follows: 'And there are (scil. the following must be placed on the altar or cult-table) three cuts of meat from the right shoulder, . . . (etc)'.

[63] *LSAM* 12 (cf. *IvP* II 255, *c.* 133 BCE), lines 19–22: [ἐπει]|δὴ πρότερον ἦν εἰθισμένον τοὺς θύοντας τῆι Νικηφόρῳ[ι Ἀ]|θηνᾶι μετὰ τῶν διατεταγμένων τῆι θεᾶι γερῶν διδ[όναι] | κα[ὶ] ἄλλοις τισὶν τῶν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν διατριβόντων πλεί|να τρίπλευρα, δεδόχ<θ>αι. Cf. also the possible mention of a τρί[πλευρον] in an enigmatic list at *LSS* 70 (Thasos, *c.* 400 BCE), line 3.

decree goes on to specify amounts of money from the sale of hides which must now be paid as perks to the temple-warden (*neokoros*), as well as to the female flute-player and the woman who raises a ritual cry (*ololuktria*). It could be presumed, then, that these τρίπλευρα had formerly been the normal perquisites for cultic personnel beyond the priest, and meaty rather than financial. Another relevant inscription is a quite fragmentary text from Chios which appears to contain two lists, one defining priestly perquisites properly speaking, and perhaps another list containing more unusual portions. In this latter part, one finds the mention of 'three ribs', followed by the letter omega and a lacuna, which in a list of perquisites can probably only signify the beginning of a word like ὦ[μος] (shoulder) or ὠ[μοπλάτη].[64] The text from Chios thus apparently shows yet another example of the close conceptualisation of the three segments of the ribs with the area of the shoulder. One might go as far as speculating that this 'tri-rib' portion referred to the first three ribs of the chest, in other words those most closely associated with the portions cut out from the shoulder (in the case of Ialysos, perhaps those on the anterior and right side of the chest).[65]

The ἀκρίσχιον, which, as was seen above, refers to the topmost part of the legs which was connected to the hip, or to an adjacent part of the hip itself, appropriately belongs in a subgroup with the sacrum, the ὀσφῦς. These portions refer, much in the same way as the shoulder and the rib which belong adjacent to the forelegs, to parts which could be 'cut with' or 'upon' the hind legs. Though both the τρίπλευρον and the ἀκρίσχιον were apparently usually granted to subsidiary officials, they are nonetheless cuts closely associated with sacred or priestly portions, and they suitably follow the pieces cut from the shoulder and the ὀσφῦς at Ialysos.

[64] *NIK* 7, lines 7–8: [. . . . 9 . . . .], τρεῖς πλεόρας, ὠ|[μοπλάτην]; so Sokolowski (*LSCG* 120), but Graf restored simply ὦ|[μον . . .]; cf. also, below n. 88 for the earlier part of this inscription. A newly published sale of priesthood inscription from Iasos, Maddoli (2015: 101–18), makes the notion of triple-rib portion perhaps even clearer than the inscriptions from Ialysos and Chios, since it refers to 'sides of meat on three right (rib-)bones' (πλευρὰς [not πλευρᾶς, so ed. pr] ἐπὶ τρία ὀστᾶ δεξιά, line 15) as a priestly portion. The matter now warrants further discussion.

[65] Cp. perhaps the osteological evidence concerning cattle at the sanctuary of Poseidon and Amphitrite on Tenos cited by Ekroth (2008a: 266), where a tri-section of the spine and a midsection of the ribs was performed, which would perhaps have helped to yield portions not unlike the τρίπλευρα. But for more substantial portions of the rib (χέλυς) granted to a priest, cf. *IG* XII 4, 278 (Cos, *c.* 350 BCE), lines 50–1: γέρη τοῦ βοὸς τῶι ἱερῆι δέρμα κ[αὶ σ|κέ]λ̣ος̣ . . . καὶ χέλυος ἥμισυ καὶ κοιλίας ἥμ[ι|συ]. In this text also, note that the portion from the head is not attributed to the priest, but apparently divided among other participants in the rites, namely the bronze-smiths and the potters, lines 54–5: χαλκέων καὶ κερα[μέ|ω]ν ἑκατέροις τὸ κεφάλαιο[ν]; κεφάλαιο[ν] here cannot have its usual sense of a 'sum' or summary; it must refer to a 'part of the head' (cf. LSJ s.v. II). This should thus be viewed as a further example of the division of the head into two separate halves (ἑκατέροις, one half for each of the two groups respectively), such as one finds at Ialysos, as well at Athens and on Chios.

Differently from this core group, the second set of cuts at Ialysos pertains to the head of the animal and is also defined by the absence of connectives (such as καί). This part of the list begins with half of the head, followed by the tongue and the brain, which were perhaps contained in this divided skull. Which half of the head was given to the god or priest is not specified, but it is possible that one is to presume that the right half was still being considered, as in the case of the shoulder and perhaps some of the other parts that followed. The tongue (γλῶσσα) will be discussed further below, but the specification of the brain (ἐγκέφαλον) is fairly unique in cultic norms. It was a valuable piece of meat and perhaps usually included with the head as a portion, but from a set of agoranomic inscriptions from Athens it is apparent that it could sometimes be removed in order to be sold separately from the heads of animals.[66]

The text from Ialysos can accordingly be interpreted as representing a more extensive topology of divine or honorific portions within the body of the sacrificial animal. On the one hand, there are three portions belonging to the right front shoulder and chest respectively, as well as more central portions belonging to the rear of the animal: the sacrum bone and the hip area. On the other, one finds a set of three portions belonging to the head. Overall, the three areas – the 'dextro-anterior', the sciatic, and the cephalic – appear to form the focal elements of the sacrificial division in this particular case. Regrettably, one cannot hope to learn much more from the two extant lines of the inscription, and there are no other examples from Rhodes of this form of butchery, but elsewhere it is possible to find norms of classification of perquisites which are similarly organised.

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One major body of epigraphic evidence of course comes from Athens, and it is here that one can perhaps observe the greatest consistency in lists of sacrificial perquisites, which are usually presented in a sequence without connectives. The most detailed inscription is the intriguing account of priestly perquisites from Aixone, which repeatedly notes the distribution of the same cuts of meat in many of the sacrifices. These are attributed to the priests but are also expressly placed on the cult-table as divine offerings.[67] The portions in question are the thigh (κωλῆ), a side of the hip (πλευρὸν ἰσχίο), and probably a half-head of the animal (ἡμίκραιραν χορδῆς). The side of the hip should be visualised as a portion much like the

[66] *SEG* 47, 196 A–B (Piraeus, first century BCE).

[67] *SEG* 54, 214 (*c.* 400–375 BCE), *passim*: ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν τράπεζαν κωλῆν, πλευρὸν ἰσχίο, ἡμίκραιραν χορδῆς. See the commentary of Ackermann (2007) and Parker (2010b) on this text.

ἀκρίσχιον, a piece of the haunch or hip which may still have been attached to the thigh and which formed a part of this 'extended' conception of the leg as a priestly perquisite. The half-head recalls the portion seen at Ialysos, but here instead of containing the tongue and the brain, it appears to have been stuffed with intestines or sausage made from these (χορδή).[68]

In a very fragmentary inscription listing priestly prerogatives which perhaps had a comparable layout to the account from Aixone, one finds various legs and portions of beef (σάρκας) offered as priestly prerogatives, as well as amounts of money. In one final case considered by the inscription, perhaps during the offering of a young animal with its first teeth (γαλαθηνός), the following series of perks is determined: a leg (σκέλος), a rib or side (πλευρόν), and a half-head (ἡμίκραιραν).[69] Does the πλευρόν refer to the rib-cage or a portion from this, or, implicitly, to a 'side' of the hip as at Aixone? In the former option, one might then be dealing with a foreleg, connected to the rib or side; in the latter, to a portion not unlike the 'extended' κωλῆ.

In a fragmentary regulation from the Attic deme of Phrearrhioi, the priestly perquisites are remarkably similar: a thigh or ham (κωλῆν), a rib or side (πλευρόν), and a hip or part thereof (ἰσχίον).[70] According to Lupu's commendable interpretation, divine portions are also specified in this text and listed as thighbones (μηρούς), pieces cut off from the shoulders (μασχαλίσματα), as we have seen, and again a half-head (ἡμίκραιρα), all of which are to be placed on the altar.[71] It would accordingly be very attractive to suppose that either the same or (better yet?) the other half of the head was granted as a priestly prerogative in some of the lacunae

[68] Cf. Ackermann (2007: 120 and esp. with n. 34) on ἡμίκραιρα χορδῆς, which she translates 'une demi-tête farcie de boyaux'. The word χορδή can either mean intestines and tripe, or sausage made from this (Parker 2010b: 194 n. 6). On the distinction between types of entrails, cf. Berthiaume (1982: 46–8). Despite the attraction of reading a 'half-head' measure of sausage (as suggested by Scullion (2009: 154 n. 5)) or a distinctive type of sausage links, I prefer to follow Ziehen (in *LGS* II 24) and Ackermann, and think of a half-head 'stuffed with' sausage (a shorthand expression or a sort of descriptive genitive?).

[69] *IG* II² 1359 (*c.* 350 BCE, cp. the more ample restorations of Sokolowski at *LSCG* 29): τ̣ων καταρχ[ὴν? – — –] | ἱερειώσυνα τάδε [– — –]|ματα, σκέλος τῆς η[– — –]|α σάρκας ἑκάστης τ [– — –]|ν ἀμνῶν σκέλος ἑκασ[τ – — –] | ἐπὶ τράπεζαν καταρχὴ[ν – — – γαλα]|θηνοῦ :IC: διδόναι δὲ καὶ το[– — –] | σκέλος, πλευρόν, ἡμίκραιρα[ν χορδῆς – — –] | τὴν καταρχήν; but note the uncertainty of the restoration [χορδῆς]. Cf. also *IG* I³ 255 (cp. *LSCG* 11, *c.* 430–420 BCE) which may be a similar text with recurring mentions of τράπεζαν on side A, perhaps a sacrificial inventory or calendar of a trittys, and with the fragmentary side B resembling an account of priestly perquisites (I thank Parker per litt., citing S. Humphreys, for this parallel; contrast, however, the imperatives in the text, which are less habitually found in this genre of inscription).

[70] *NGSL* 3 (*c.* 300–250 BCE), with extensive discussion by Lupu; see n. 46 above; but cf. also esp. line 5, with the problematic lacuna: [ἱερεώσ]υνα κωλῆν πλευρὸν ἰ<σ>χ[ίον – — –].

[71] *NGSL* 3, lines 17–21, cf. n. 46 above.

which follow the partial lists in this inscription. Furthermore, it would seem that the regulation from Phrearrhioi confirms a small difference with the account of Aixone, since here one clearly finds both the rib (πλευρόν) and the hip (ἰσχίον) mentioned.

Other Athenian inscriptions confirm these substantial parallels and subtle distinctions. A regulation from Paiania, which usually prescribed financial compensation to priests instead of pieces of meat, specifies that the priestess of Hekate is to receive a thigh and a rib or side (πλευρόν) from a sacrifice.[72] Similarly the priest of Zeus of the phratry of the Demotionidai is to receive a thigh, a rib or side (πλευρόν) and an ear (ὦς) from all the sacrificial animals.[73] In both of these cases, as in one passage from the Phrearrhian regulation, one does not find the half-head attributed to the priests or priestesses, perhaps because it was destined for some other ritual purpose or sold separately. Still, in the regulation of the Demotionidai, one might view the ear as symbolising a smaller portion of the head reserved for the priest.

In any case, it will be clear from all of these examples that priestly perquisites at Athens regularly revolved around a specific list of portions: a leg or thigh, followed by either a side of rib or a side of hip, perhaps depending on whether a fore- or hindleg was the focus of the divine portion, and finally, in most cases, a part of the head of the animal. This fundamental list obviously had an epichoric specificity to Athens, with a few notable exceptions.[74] In interpreting it, due consideration should certainly be paid to local culinary preferences and practices of butchery.[75] But the order of the list was consistent and therefore meaningful in other respects. It may have represented the significance or the price of the

[72] *LSS* 18 (450–430 BCE), B32–5: ἑκάτες ⋮ ἱερείαι ⋮ ὦν ἂν τ|ῆι ⋮ ἑκάτει θύεται ⋮ διδόνα[ι | κ]ολῆν, πλευρόν vv ⋮ κτλ.

[73] *LSCG* 19 (396/5 BCE), lines 4–7: ἱερεώσυνα τῶι ἱερεῖ διδόναι τ|άδε· ἀπὸ τὸ μείο κωλῆν, πλευρόν, ὦ|ς, ἀργυρίο III v ἀπὸ τὸ κορείο κωλῆ|ν, πλευρόν, ὦς κτλ.

[74] Supporting evidence also comes from literary sources: Amipsias fr. 7 ap. Athen. 368e lists frequent perquisites as the thigh, the side (πλευρόν), and the left side of the head (cf. the remarks of Parker (2006: 75)). Cp. the cult of Men Tyrannos at a later date in Attica (*LSCG* 55, first century AD), lines 9–10, where the god receives the right leg, the head, the hooves, and perhaps a small portion of the ribs or chest not unlike the πλευρόν or τρίπλευρον: παρέχειν δὲ καὶ τῶι θεῶι τὸ καθῆκον, δεξιὸν σκέλος καὶ δορὰν καὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ πόδας καὶ στηθύνιον. The repartition found during two sacrifices in the sacrificial calendar of Athens also seems to corroborate this, though here the officials involved share the usual parts of the priestly portion; cf. Lambert (2002: 363–4, fr. 3 col. 2, lines 53–7): φυλοβασιλεῖ | σκέλος | κήρυ[κ]ι χέλυος | ποδ[ῶν] κεφαλῆς; but cf. the different series earlier, at lines 40–3: φυλοβ[α]σιλεῦσι | νώτο | κήρυκι ὤμο | ποδῶν κεφαλῆς.

[75] On the cuts of meat sold by Athenian butchers, cf. Rosivach (1994: 85–7) and Berthiaume (1982), both primarily from literary sources. Among other things, the extremities (ἀκροκώλια), parts of the ribs and neck, as well as parts of the σπλάγχνα, may have been marketed and usually made into a soup or stew.

perquisites in descending order, starting with the leg or thigh which certainly was the most valuable portion and the heaviest in terms of meat, and ending with a segment of the head. More tentatively, the list could have signified the order of laying out these portions on a cult-table, since one probably started with a leg or thigh, then placed other 'extended' or loosely 'associated' pieces upon it such as ribs or a side of hip (recall the frequent expressions referring to the distribution of portions 'on the thigh/leg', discussed above). One might then finally have set aside half the head, and proceeded to make sausage from the tripe and the collected blood of the animal sacrificed.[76] Furthermore, this order neatly parallels the placement and burning of divine portions on the altar, as seen in the lists from the deme of Phrearrhioi: first came the thighbones (μηρούς), which were extracted from the hams and legs attributed to priests, followed by the armpit meats (μασχαλίσματα), which would likely be contiguous to the πλευρόν (side of ribs) given to priests, and finally the other half of the head, or perhaps the same half-head which could have been filled with tripe or sausage (χορδή) even after being burned. The close connection between the divine and the priestly portions was affirmed by the consistency of these Attic checklists.

Quite different sequences of perquisites are observable elsewhere, however, with two other major corpora of inscriptions stemming from Miletus and its surroundings, as well as from Chios. At Miletus, a fairly good degree of consistency can also be noticed in most lists of sacrificial cuts and meats. At least three documents relating to sales of priesthoods from this city preserve the following order of perquisites: the entrails (σπλάγχνα), a kidney (νεφρόν), the crooked intestine (σκολιόν), the sacred portion (ἱερὰ μοῖρα), the tongue (γλῶσσα), followed by a leg and perhaps other portions.[77] However, it is important to remark that this list was by no means absolute, as a further inscription from Miletus accords the priest the

[76] On blood in Greek sacrifice: Ekroth (2002: 242–51), Ekroth (2005). On sausages in particular: Frost (1999). For further instances of tripe and sausages, cf. the continued list at *LSAM* 44 (Miletus, *c.* 400 BCE), lines 8–12: ἀπόλοχον· σκ[έ]λη κ̣α̣[ὶ] | κρέας καὶ γ̣α̣σ̣[τρ]ίον κ[α|ὶ] χορδίον· ἢν δὲ [β]ὸν ἔρ̣[δ|η]ι, δύο κρέα καὶ χόλικα̣ [κα]ὶ αἱμάτιον; these are probably technical terms for the smaller bowels (χορδίον), and sausages made from these and ox-blood in the latter case (χόλικα̣ [κα]ὶ αἱμάτιον).

[77] *LSAM* 44 (*c.* 400 BCE), the most detailed and general text, which begins: [τούτοις δὲ οἷ] ἐπρίαν̣[τ|ο] τὰς ἱερε[ω]σύνας γίνε|[σ]θ[α]ι· τὰ δ̣έ̣ρ̣μ̣α̣τ̣α̣ πά̣ν̣τ̣α̣, | [ὅ]σ᾽ ἂν ἡ πόλις ἔρδ[η]ι, σπ[λ|ά]γχανα καὶ νεφρὸν κα[ὶ | σ]κολιὸν καὶ [ἱ]ερὴμ μοί[ρ|η]ν καὶ τὰς γλώσσας πά[σ]|ας· ἀπόλοχον· σκ[έ]λη κ̣α̣[ὶ] . . .; *LSAM* 48 (276/5 BCE), lines 16–18: διδότω γέρη τῆι ἱερείαι σπλάγχνα, νεφ[ρόν], | σκολιόν, ἱερὰμ μοῖραν, γλῶσσαν, σκέλος εἰς κοτυληδόνα [(ἐκ)|τ]ετμημένον; and *LSAM* 52 (14–50 AD), lines B4–7: καὶ διδ<ό>τωσαν τῶι ἱερεῖ σπλάγχνα, | νεφρόν, σκολιόν, ἱερὰν μοῖραν, γλῶσ<σ>αν, σκέλος δεξιὸν εἰς κοτυληδόνα τετμημένον καὶ τὴν δορὰν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἱερά. For the etymology of σκολιός, as 'crooked, winding, tangled', cf. LSJ s.v.; it ought most properly to refer to the small intestine.

tongue, the 'continuous' ὀσφῦς, and an ὦρη (possibly a foreleg as we have seen), or, alternatively, this same sort of ὀσφῦς, the tongue, and a thigh.[78] One way of interpreting this less typical list is by analogy: the perquisites here perhaps reflect the last three mentioned in the more extensive Milesian lists, with the ὀσφῦς as problematically equivalent to the ἱερὰ μοῖρα, and the ὦρη as a substitute for the leg or thigh. But this is hardly compelling, and other lists present substantial variations. Such is the case with the inscription from Thebes on the Mykale, where one finds two series of portions similar to those at Miletus, one in a slightly different order, beginning with the tongue instead of the entrails which are not mentioned, and one in a completely inverse order, starting with the leg, then followed by the kidney and the crooked intestine.[79] From the nearby sanctuary of Didyma also, there is a small piece of evidence perhaps suggesting a similar list, and another text informing us that the heads of sacrificial animals as well as other extremities (ἀκροκώλια) were habitually sold, which helps to explain the absence of heads (or half-heads) and other related portions as perquisites in Milesian inscriptions.[80]

There was evidently more variation at Miletus than at Athens, but one may still reasonably ask what a list of perks usually beginning with the entrails might signify. It cannot refer to a descending order of value or to the order of placement of portions on the cult-table, as at Athens. Conversely, it could represent an ascending order of value, concluding with the most valuable portion such as the thigh or leg, though such an order might be viewed as rather unusual when compared to other Greek lists.[81] Instead, another, stronger possibility suggests itself when one

[78] *LSAM* 46 (*c.* 300 BCE), cf. also n. 32 above.

[79] *LSAM* 40 (third century BCE), lines 4–6: λαμβάνων γλῶσσαν, | σκολιόν, νεφρό[ν, ἰε]ρὴν μοῖραν, κωλῆν | καὶ τὰ κώιδια τῶν θυομένων; inverse, *LSAM* 39 (fourth century BCE), lines 21–3: λαμβάνειν δὲ τοὺς εἰσάγοντας τὸ κου|ρεῖο τὸ δέρμα καὶ σκέλος καὶ νεφρὸν | καὶ σκολιόν. The latter list is perhaps short or partial because it is attributed to the sacrificant rather than the priest, who might be presumed to have himself received another part of the habitual γέρη. As in Athens, this 'reversed' list perhaps began with the hide and the leg to stress their importance and value.

[80] *SEG* 30, 1283 (550–500 BCE): [— κα]θαίρεν· καὶ τ|ὸ· ἱρέως· γί[νεσθαι – | —] ἀπὸ ἱερηί̣ο· κ[— κ|α]ὶ νεφρ̣[ὸν —]; though the text is extremely lacunose, one might think of restoring a κ[ωλῆν] before the kidney, and thus an order not unlike the one found in *LSAM* 39 (n.79 above). For the sale of heads and other extremities (snouts, feet, etc.) at Didyma, cf. *LSAM* 54 (*c.* 300–250 BCE), lines 2–10: πωλεῖσθαι δὲ πάντα σταθμῶι· νν | τῶν δὲ ῥυνχέων καὶ τῶν ἀκροκω|λίων ὑπολογίζεσθαι τὸ τρίτον | μέρος· <ὑ>πὲρ τῶν κεφαλῶν τῶν | προβατείων· τοὺς δὲ μαγείρ[ους] | πωλεῖν τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶ[ν προβά]|των καθάραντας [αὐτὰς καὶ κόψαν]|τας τὰ κ̣έρα̣τ̣[α —]. Cf. also the fragmentary I. Ephesos 1263, line 6, where an [— ἀκ]ροκώλιον is listed, whether as a perquisite or not is unclear.

[81] Furthermore, the first list found in *LSAM* 44 (cf. n. 77) almost certainly suggests otherwise, since it begins with the hides, which were without doubt the most valuable perquisites and perhaps also were flayed first.

considers the probable sequence of events which took place during the post-sacrificial butchering of the animal carcass.[82] After the slitting of the animal's throat and the sacrifice proper, the carcass would either be strung up vertically or laid down horizontally, at which point a longitudinal cut would be made into the abdomen, perhaps all the way to the diaphragm and the sternum. The entrails and other innards would then be removed. If the interpretation proposed here is correct, the σπλάγχνα would be removed first, and these appear to have consisted in the most accessible and edible major internal organs at this point: the heart, the liver, the pancreas, the spleen.[83] This would then free up access to the kidneys, which lay concealed underneath the other internal organs and the large intestine (the latter was likely cut out, and either discarded or used to make sausage). Only one of these kidneys was apparently given to the priest at Miletus; the other was perhaps offered to the deity.[84] Next, the crooked or small intestine could be removed and set aside for the priest; it could be used to make sausage at a later point, after having been cleaned in a designated area.[85] It also seems that in some cases, the removal of the abdominal organs and the intestines enabled the ὀσφῦς to be directly cut out, followed by the 'extended' thigh or leg. In other sacrificial iterations, the ἱερὰ μοῖρα – if it indeed belonged to the area of the shoulder – and a foreleg could be cut out as a priority. Finally, the more extensive practice of butchering (and cooking) the meat would begin, by performing cuts along the joints of the body, perhaps starting with the head and moving down the carcass, though this is not certain.[86]

On Chios, a few inscriptions also begin by listing the entrails first, the tongue second, and lastly a double-portion of meat or a perhaps generic

[82] Ekroth (2008a: esp. 260–4). One need not be overly concerned with the removal and flaying of hides here, which could apparently occur before the removal of innards or afterwards.

[83] On σπλάγχνα, see Stengel (1910: 73–8) and LSJ s.v.; no definitive list of the organs involved exists and there were perhaps local variations here too. The gallbladder would also have been removed and eventually burned to create smoke and sizzle on the altar. Cf. Van Straten (1995: 131–41) on the participatory consumption of the entrails, using iconographic evidence.

[84] Outside of Miletus and its surroundings, the kidneys will perhaps simply have been treated as a part of the traditional set of σπλάγχνα.

[85] For this idea, cf. e.g. the inscription from the Vari cave, *LSCG* 9 (Attica, *c.* 450–400 BCE): τἄντερ' ἔχ|σο κλύζετ[ε] | καὶ τὸν ὄν|θον νίζετε.

[86] Further confirmation for this butchering and *cooking* order can be sought in a passage of the famous decree of the Molpoi from Miletus, *LSAM* 50, lines 34–6, which describes the privileges and duties of the Onitadai as an illuminatingly explicit post-sacrificial sequence, '1) roasting of entrails, 2) boiling/cooking of meat portions, 3) boiling/cooking and dissection of the *osphys* and the fifth part which the *stephanephoroi* receive, 4) allotment of a (given?) part of meat': ὄπτησις σπλάγχνων, κρεῶν ἕψησις, τῆς ὀσφύος καὶ | τῆς πεμπάδος, ἣν στεφανηφόροι ἴσχοσιν, ἕψησις καὶ διαίρεσις, καὶ μοίρης λά|ξις; cf. Herda (2006: 394–5).

γέρας.[87] But other lists from this island are substantially different, since they begin with the tongue, usually followed by the entrails and then by other portions of meat.[88] It would seem that the tongue was one of the most 'slippery' portions, since its placement in lists of perquisites varied considerably.[89] It may have been placed 'last' on the altar or the cult-table, as perhaps reflected at Miletus.[90] In such cases, the tongue might be cut out only after the head had been split into two halves (e.g. following the Athenian example). But in the other cases, when the tongue occurs first in lists of perks as on Chios, it may be supposed that it was cut out straight away, probably together with the throat (τράχηλος) when the animal was slaughtered. In this regard, it could be suggested that some of the rituals involved had a certain 'intensity', though this is by no means assured: for example, that they involved an offering called a σφάγιον, since the throat of this animal would be slit down towards the altar or the ground, at which point the throat and tongue were perhaps immediately removed.[91]

Whatever the precise case may be, the order of butchery or cooking was likely also represented at Chios: one might begin with the entrails and then the tongue; or, inversely, the tongue, then the entrails, followed by the rest. But the evidence is by no means as consistent as one finds at Miletus.[92] As it happens, a recently published sale of priesthood from Chios has supplied

[87] *NIK* 6 (cf. *LSS* 77, *c.* 400 BCE), lines 4–8: καὶ προλ[αμβανέ]τω αὐτῶ | καὶ παρὰ τὸ τὰ ἰε̣[ρ]ὰ ποιὸντο|ς σπλάγχνα τὰ ἐς [χ]εῖρας καὶ | γούνατα καὶ γλῶ[σ]σαν καὶ κρ|εῶν δύο μοίρας δ[ί] κρεως . . .; and *LSS* 78 (fifth century BCE), lines 4–8: τῶι ἰ|ρέωι γίνεσθαι σπλ|άγχνα τὰ ἐς γόν|ατα καὶ γλάσσαι | καὶ γέρας. Cp. also *NIK* 7 (*c.* 350–300, cf. *LSCG* 120), lines 1–5; see now Carbon (2016: 37–40) on this text.

[88] Thus also forming an approximate parallel to the order witnessed at Thebes on the Mykale (*LSAM* 40, cf. nn. 29 and 79 above). On Chios: *LSCG* 119 (fourth century BCE), lines 3–9: δίδοσθαι ὅταν τὸ γένος | θύῃ γλώσσας καὶ σπλάγ|χνα τὰ εἰς χεῖρας καὶ μερίδ|α δίκρεων καὶ τὰ δέρματ[α·] | ἐὰν δὲ ἰδιώτης θύῃ δίδο[σθ]|αι τῶι ἱερεῖ γλώσσας καὶ [σπ|λ]άγχνα τὰ εἰς χεῖρας κα[ὶ μ]|ερίδα δίκρεων; *NIK* 4 (fifth century BCE, cf. *LSS* 129), lines 2–7: [δ]ίδοσθαι γλάσ|[σα]ς, γέ[ρα], θύα ἀφ' ὧν | [ἂν] θύῃ, σπλάγχνα | [ἐ]ς γόνατα καὶ ἐς | χέρας, μοίρας δύω, δέρος; and the very fragmentary *SEG* 56, 997 (fourth century BCE), lines 7–14: [δίδο]|σθαι δὲ τῶι ἱερεῖ Ǫ[– — –] | γλῶσσαν ἀπ' ἐκ[άσ]του [ἱερείου καὶ | σπ]λάγχνᾳ [τ]ὰ εἰς χεῖρᾳ[ς – — – |..]ον δύ' ὀβολούς· ἂν δὲ [– — – | δί]δ̣οσθαι τῶι ἱερεῖ γλῶσ̣[σαν ἀπ' ἑκά|στο]υ ἱερείου κ[αὶ] σπλ[άγχνα τὰ ἐς χε[ῖρας, κτλ.

[89] On the tongue: Stengel (1910: 172–7); and cf. Kadletz (1981) on the conceptualisation of such offerings, cf. esp. pp. 28–9 for the idea of placing the tongue 'last' on the altar. On the particularity of tongues at Chios, but probably overstating this specificity, cf. Lupu ap. *NGSL* 20.

[90] This is also perhaps the case at *NGSL* 20 (*c.* 400 BCE), where during private sacrifices to Eilethyia a portion of meat, a γέρας, and the tongue are to be placed (in that order?) in a sacrificial basket, lines A4–7: ἢν δὲ ἰδ|ιώτης ποι[ῇ], δίδοσθαι ἀπὸ τὸ ἰε̣|ρ̣[ὸ], ὥστε ἐς [τὸ] λ̣[ί]κνον ἐνθεῖ[ν]αι | [μ]ο̣ῖραν καὶ γέρας καὶ γλῶσσαν.

[91] See further Ekroth (2002) on this and other types of 'high-intensity' rituals.

[92] There are also a few lists from Chios that are too fragmentary to interpret: *LSS* 130 (fourth century BCE), lines 2–5: [— μο]ίρας δύο [— | —]ι αὐτῶν | [— σ]πλάγχν[α – | – ἐρ]μέας Θ[—]; and *LSS* 76 (fourth century BCE), lines 3–7: [. . .] θύα ἀπ' [ὧν ἂν θύηι, σπλάγ|χν]α τὰ ἐς γ[όνατα καὶ χεῖρας | . .] ΚΑΝΤΩΑΛ[— κατὰ | τα]ὐτά· ὅταν [δὲ – ποιῆ ἱρ|ὰ, μ]οίρας δύ[ο —].

an itemising of perquisites which holds more in common with Athens than with the rest of the texts found on the island. The fragmentary inscription awards a leg, a πρότμησις, and the left jaw (γνάθον εὐ[ώ]νυμο[ν]), to the priestess of an unknown deity.[93] This order, if correct, might most recall the account from Aixone, where priests and priestesses were attributed a thigh with a side of hip, as well as a half-head. Though there clearly were some epichoric particularities in these lists, one would therefore be hard-pressed to argue that they represented strict regional distinctions, between Athens and Ionia for example. More generally, then, the most one can affirm is that there were at least two different, conventional arrangements for lists of perquisites, which one might employ depending on the circumstances of the ritual. The first began with the leg or thigh and may have signified value as well as the order of placement of portions on the altar and the cult-table, while the other suggested the sequence involved in butchering the animal carcass, beginning with the entrails or with the tongue depending on the circumstances, and then moving on to other cuts of meat.

Right and Left, Front and Rear

In the epigraphic evidence which relates to priestly perquisites, one finds that a right-hand portion, particularly a leg, was regularly attributed to the priest.[94] Such a right-hand portion could sometimes also be set aside and consecrated, or even given explicitly to the god.[95] The identity or close association of the divine and the priestly portions is deeply affirmed by these texts.[96] But this body of material does not represent the majority of the evidence and several inscriptions do not specify the handedness of given portions.

[93] *SEG* 56, 996 (late fifth to early fourth century BCE), lines 10–11: [– — ὁ ἰδιώ]της τῆι ἱρῆι διδ[ότ]ω σκέλ[ος δε|ξιὸν – — πρό]τμησιγ, <γ>νάθον εὐ[ώ]νυμο[ν – —]. Parker (2006) provides a detailed edition and commentary of the text. He restores the qualifier 'right' for the leg, which is possible but far from certain; note, however, the probable remaining lacuna before [πρό]τμησιγ.

[94] Among other examples cited above: *LSCG* 30, line 4; *LSAM* 12, line 14 (sold for the *thesauros* or given to the priestess?); *LSAM* 13, line 14; *LSAM* 52, lines B5–6.

[95] On the cult-table: *IvP* III. 161A lines 1–2 and 7–8 (with Lupu *NGSL* pp. 61–3); perhaps *LSCG* 125 (Mytilene), line 9 (with *IG* XII 2, 72 and Suppl. p. 14) or *NGSL* 9 (Oropos, fourth century BCE), line 3. On the altar: *LSAM* 21 (Erythrai, *c.* 350 BCE), lines 2–3 and 5–6, which indicates right-hand portions along with the tongue, snout(?), rib(?), and head. Explicitly to the god: *LSCG* 55, lines 9–10 and 22–3. Cp. also the somewhat enigmatic *NIK* 7, line 6: above nn. 64 and 87.

[96] For the 'merging' or 'convergence' of divine and priestly portions: Jameson (1994a), Ekroth (2002: 248–50, 257–9; and 2008a: 267–9). But one should be careful of speaking in evolutionary terms, since the inscriptions suggest that these portions were in fact substantially equivalent or interrelated throughout the periods in evidence.

Much like the left jaw witnessed on Chios, there is also now evidence from Cos that a left leg could be singled out as honorific portion, since it was attributed as a special prize (ἆθλον) to the victor in a torch-relay race during the *Hermaia*.[97] Furthermore, osteoarcheological data from Nemea have come to light suggesting that the left hind leg was preferentially offered to the hero Opheltes, while the right was consecrated to Zeus Nemeios.[98] This forms a potential parallel to the agonistic contest on Cos, where the victor received the left leg, while the priest of Hermes received the right.[99] Might one perhaps surmise that the left leg was somehow more suitable to a heroic or mortal offering than the right, which was reserved for the gods and their priests? There is, however, a serious danger of over-conceptualising the sacrificial dichotomy of left and right in deceptively symbolic terms of 'unlucky' versus 'lucky', or 'profane' versus 'sacred'.[100] In the case of a sacrificial animal, εὐώνυμος may have signified 'propitious' just like δεξιός, and not only euphemistically. It seems certain, at least, that the left side of animal was not reserved exclusively for the god, as Puttkammer had once argued.[101]

In fact, various inscriptions defining ritual norms only specify that 'the' leg or 'the' thigh is to be given to the priest or honorand. As Puttkammer noted in one case, this use of the definite article surely implies that the 'traditional' leg or portion was given, likely, though not necessarily, from the right-hand side of the animal.[102] A well-known inscription from the

[97] *IG* XII 4, 298A (*c.* 250–200 BCE), lines 58–62: τοῦ | δὲ ἱερείου οὗ θύει ὁ παιδονόμος τᾶι δευτέραι τοῦ Ὑακινθίου τῶι | Ἑρμᾶι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κρέα διανειμάτω τοῖς δραμοῦσι τὰν | λαμπάδα, τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον σκέλος διδότω ἆθλον τῶι νικάσαν|τι τὰμ πράταν. On the agonistic or competitive context for offering a leg as an honorary share, see now Tsoukala (2009: 10–11), discussing the iconographic evidence in particular.

[98] Cf. MacKinnon (2010: 252–60).

[99] The priest of Hermes Enagonios normally received 'a leg' from all the sacrificial animals, *IG* XII 4, 298A, lines 11–12: γέρη δὲ λαμβανέτω τῶν θυομένων τῶι Ἑρμᾶι τῶι Ἐναγωνίωι δέρμα καὶ σκέλος. During the sacrifice at the contest, since the left (hind?) leg was attributed as a victory-prize from a single animal, it is almost certain that the priest then received a right hind leg as a perquisite, as well as the hide.

[100] Cf. the seminal discussion by Lloyd (1962, particularly pp. 61–5) on Aristotle's conception of the left and right hemispheres of animal bodies.

[101] Puttkammer (1912: 23–5); for this criticism, cf. already Parker (2006: 75 with n. 15).

[102] Puttkammer (1912: 25): 'respicias articulum: τὸ σκέλος, i.e. τὸ νομίζομενον σκέλος δεξίον', citing what is now part of the calendar of Cos, *IG* XII 4, 278 (*c.* 350 BCE), lines 22–3, where the 'perk-bearer of the kings' (γερεαφόρος βασιλέων) receives from the sacrifice to Hestia: τὸ δέρμα καὶ τὸ σκέλος, ἱεροποι̣[οὶ] | δὲ σκέλος, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κρέα τᾶς πόλιος. The first is the habitual, perhaps right hind leg, whereas the *hieropoioi* receive another, less specified leg, perhaps the remaining left hind leg. Rather than always indicating handedness, the article should probably designate the one significant leg from which divine portions had been removed; cf. also Paul (2013b: 271). Other cases where one finds τὸ σκέλος include *LSS* 19 (Athens, 363/2 BCE), lines 32–32 and 39 (to be consulted in the edition of Lambert (1997)), and *Inscriptiones Creticae* I viii 4 (Guarducci 1935–50) (Knossos, *c.* 450

sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros is particularly useful for imagining the hierarchies underlying this division between the customary (probably hind) leg and a remaining leg, almost as if one were dealing with bipeds rather than quadrupeds. There, one reads that the god is to receive 'the' leg from the first ox sacrificed (perhaps to be shared or taken by the priest afterwards?), while the *hieropoioi* receive the other; from the second ox in the procession, the singers (*aoidoi*) receive 'the' leg, while the guards receive the other and the entrails.[103] It is perfectly possible that the article, instead of always implying handedness, conventionally referred to the leg or thigh which was best preserved or most attractive, and which therefore contained the most meat. That there was at times some latitude in the choice of which leg to offer to the god or to give to the priest is clear, as one recalls from the regulation at Iasos where the priest can choose 'a single leg, whichever one he likes'.[104]

Furthermore, from what has been proposed here, the transverse section of the sacrificial animal seems equally significant in practical terms as the distinction between left and right (the sagittal anatomical plane). In other words, the idea of giving portions from the front or rear midsections respectively, after a cut into the navel and abdomen of the animal had been made, was fundamental in certain sacrifices. The attribution of a hind leg was often conditional on its link to the πρότμησις or to the hip, or on its connection with the ὀσφῦς: these were central portions which could not always be readily divided into left- and righthand segments. The front leg could also be given as a perquisite, since this was attached to a side of rib or to a shoulder from which a sacred portion might be extracted. Beyond a possible choice of left or right, an alternative between front and hind portions was also sometimes presented to priests.[105]

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Inscriptions concerned with Greek sacrifice thus reveal subtle shifts of emphasis and quite varied local terminology, but nonetheless a remarkable

BCE), lines 11 and 15. Cf. also *NGSL* 11 (Haliartos, *c.* 235–220 BCE), lines 24–5: τὰ ούπέρπουρα πάντα κὴ τὰν κωλίαν, 'all the things roasted on the fire and *the* thigh' (assigned to magistrates). For the reference to tradition rather than a specific handedness, cp. *LSAM* 23 (Erythrai), lines 15–16: τὸ σκέλος τὸ πα[ρὰ τὸν βωμὸν πα]|ρατιθέμενον κα[ὶ —]; contrast an odd interpretation of the definite article as pointing to an exception rather than the norm, in Le Guen-Pollet (1991: 17–18).

[103] *LSCG* 60 (*c.* 400 BCE), lines 10–17: (φερνὰν τῶι θιῶι) τὸ σσκέλος τοῦ βοὸς το|ῦ πράτου, τὸ δ' ἄτερον σκέ|λος τοὶ ἱαρομνάμονες | φερόσθω· τοῦ δευτέρου β|οὸς τοῖς ἀοιδοῖς δόντω | τὸ σκέλος, τὸ δ' ἄτερον σκ|έλος τοῖς φρουροῖς δόν|τω καὶ τὲνδοσθίδια.

[104] *LSAM* 59 (*c.* 450–400 BCE), lines 1–3: λαμβανέτω δὲ τῶν θυομένων | σκέλος ἓν, ὁποῖον ἂν θέλητι, σὺν τ[ῆι] ὀσφύϊ . . .

[105] Cf. above nn. 42 and 56, with ref. to *LSAM* 1 (Sinope) and *LSAM* 46 (Miletus) respectively.

degree of coherence as far as portions and perquisites are concerned. Lists of perks can be viewed as reflecting practices of butchery, or the hierarchical depositing and assignment of portions. Through the agency of the priest and other participants, the animal was divided and shared, from κωλῆ to μηρός, from ὦμος to θεομοιρία, and in many other respects such as the entrails. This symmetry between the human and divine portions of the sacrificial animal was also expressed on several different but compatible levels which have not been discussed in detail here because they are seldom fully explicit in the epigraphic evidence: first, in the distinction between forms of cookery; and second, in the topography of a sanctuary itself, since the burned offerings were usually offered on an altar while raw or boiled portions would be placed beside it, on a cult-table or even a statue, for the god and eventually for the priest.[106] These related aspects, together with the overall topology of perquisites in the body of the sacrificial animal delineated in this chapter, all contributed to define Greek sacrifice as a mirrored relationship between the human and the divine 'spheres'.[107] In particular, it was the concept of the 'extended' limb, shared as a meal between the priest and the god, that articulated this relationship most vividly. It remains one of the most essential features of Greek sacrifice in the epigraphical evidence and elsewhere.

[106] Burned, cooked, or raw: cf. Ekroth (2008b, esp. p. 104) for forms of cookery as structuring the 'distinctions' between gods and men.

[107] Cf. Pirenne-Delforge (2010: 134–5) for an insightful discussion on the priestly handling of meats as a mediation between the human and divine 'spheres'.

PART III

Representation

CHAPTER 7

Sacrifice and the Homeric Hymn to Hermes *112–41*

Oliver Thomas

This chapter has two aims. Firstly, I will use a much-discussed scene in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* as a test case for the methodology of interpreting representations of animal sacrifice in Greek literature. In lines 112–41, Hermes kills and cooks two of Apollo's cows, but does not eat them. Is this a sacrifice or not, and what other questions should we ask? Secondly, this discussion will allow me to argue more precisely a conclusion attained by Burkert in 1984, namely that the passage suggests that the *Hymn to Hermes* was composed for performance at Olympia.[1] I begin with my text of the passage and a literal translation.

πολλὰ δὲ κάγκανα κᾶλα κατουδαίωι ἐνὶ βόθρωι
οὖλα λαβὼν ἐπέθηκεν ἐπηετανά, λάμπετο δὲ φλόξ
τηλόσε φῦσαν ἰεῖσα πυρὸς͡ μέγα δαιομένοιο.
ὄφρα δὲ πῦρ ἀνέκαιε βίη κλυτοῦ Ἡφαίστοιο,
τόφρα δ' ὑποβροχίας[2] ἕλικας βοῦς εἵλκε θύραζε
δοιὰς ἄγχι πυρός· δύναμις δέ οἱ ἔπλετο πολλή·
ἀμφοτέρας δ' ἐπὶ νῶτα χαμαὶ βάλε φυσιοώσας,
ἐγκλίνων δ' ἐκύλινδε δι' αἰῶνας τετορήσας.
ἔργωι δ' ἔργον ὄπαζε ταμὼν κρέα πίονα δημῶι,
ὤπτα δ' ἀμφ' ὀβελοῖσι πεπαρμένα δουρατέοισιν,
σάρκας ὁμοῦ καὶ νῶτα γεράσμια καὶ μέλαν αἷμα
ἐργμένον ἐν χολάδεσσι. τὰ δ' αὐτοῦ κεῖτ' ἐπὶ χώρης,

Particular thanks to Robert Parker, under whose guidance I began considering this passage in 2005, and to the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies for a bursary to finalize my argument at Fondation Hardt in 2007. That was before I could see Jaillard (2007), Versnel (2011: 309–77), N. J. Richardson (2010), Vergados (2013), and (through oversight) Furley (1981: 38–63). Reading these works has not substantially altered my view, but I certainly regret that I have had very little space to engage with them in revising what follows.

[1] As will become clear, I think it is worth redoing this argument since I disagree with the details of Burkert's methodology.

[2] Thomas: ὑποβρῡχί͡ος Ω. The scansion lacks good parallels (Chantraine (1973: 170)), and ὑπο- 'somewhat' is irrelevant. ὑποβρόχιος is not otherwise attested. However, semantically it is very apt, since cows must normally have been led to the altar with nooses (as seen in art; for the rings to which cows were tied at Claros see Delattre (1992: 22)).

ῥινοὺς δ᾽ ἐξετάνυσσε καταστυφέλωι ἐνὶ πέτρηι,
ὡς ἔτι νῦν τὰ μέτασσα πολυχρόνιοι πεφύασιν
δηρὸν δὴ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἄκριτον. αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Ἑρμῆς χαρμόφρων εἰρύσσατο πίονα ἔργα
λείωι ἐπὶ πλαταμῶνι, καὶ ἔσχισε δώδεκα μοίρας
κληροπαλεῖς, τέλεον δὲ γέρας προσέθηκεν ἑκάστηι.
ἐνθ᾽ ὁσίης κρεάων ἠράσσατο κύδιμος Ἑρμῆς·
ὀδμὴ γάρ μιν ἔτειρε καὶ ἀθάνατόν περ ἐόντα
ἡδεῖ᾽. ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ὣς οἱ ἐπείθετο θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ
καί τε μάλ᾽ ἱμείροντι περᾶν[3] ἱερῆς κατὰ δειρῆς,
ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατέθηκεν ἐς αὔλιον ὑψιμέλαθρον
δημὸν καὶ κρέα πολλά, μετήορα δ᾽ αἶψ᾽ ἀνάειρεν
σῆμα νέης φωρῆς. τὰ δ᾽, ἐπὶ[4] ξυλὰ κάγκαν᾽ ἀείρας,
οὐλόποδ᾽ οὐλοκάρηνα πυρὸς κατεδάμνατ᾽ ἀϋτμῆι.
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ πάντα κατὰ χρέος ἤνυσε δαίμων,
σάνδαλα μὲν προέηκεν ἐς Ἀλφειὸν βαθυδίνην,
ἀνθρακιὴν δ᾽ ἐμάρανε, κόνιν δ᾽ ἀμάθυνε μέλαιναν
παννύχιος, καλὸν δὲ φόως ἐπέλαμπε Σελήνης.

[Hermes] packed together much desiccated timber and added it in abundance, in a pit sunk into the ground. And the flame began to shine, sending far and wide the puffs of the strongly blazing fire. (115) While famous Hephaestus' force was kindling the fire, he dragged a pair of spiral-horned cows outside by a noose to near the fire – his strength was great – and cast both of them puffing to the ground onto their backs; then as he leaned over he pierced their vital parts and sent them rolling. (120) He added deed to deed after cutting up the meat rich with fat, and roasted it skewered on long wooden spits – the flesh together with the honorific chines and the dark blood enclosed within the intestines. Other parts lay there in their place, but he stretched out the skins on a rugged rock, (125) as still now in later times they are planted there indistinguishably, long-lasting, and have been so for a very long time after these events. And next joyful Hermes pulled off his rich handiwork

[3] Barnes: περῆν M: πέρην' Θ: πέρην *p*. Though πέρνημι/περάω normally refers to sea-crossings, Barnes's emendation seems best. Note that infinitives in -ναι are not elided in early epic.

[4] τὰ δ', ἐπί Thomas: ἐπὶ δέ Ω. οὐλόποδ' οὐλοκάρηνα cannot modify ξυλά or τὰ μέν: οὐλο-/όλο- implies a closer connection than 'along with all of', and Hermes can hardly create a 'sign' which he then burns before anyone sees it. The natural contrast expressed by μέν . . . δέ is rather between the flesh and fat (stored) and the rest (burnt); and otherwise the poet carefully details the fate of most of the body-parts, but leaves those mentioned in verse 123 lying around. A definite article is needed, to show that the topic has shifted.

> onto a smooth flat rock, split twelve portions to be assigned by ballot, and added a perfect honorific portion to each. (130) Then glorious Hermes felt a lust for the right to consume the meat, since the smell was tormenting him despite his immortality, so sweet was it. But not even so did his manly spirit listen, though he greatly desired to pass the meat down his sacred throat. Rather, he deposited some parts – the (135) fat and the plentiful meat – in the lodge with the high-ridged roof, and straightaway raised it up on high,[5] a sign of his recent theft. The rest, including all of the feet and all of the heads, he totally destroyed with the blast of fire, after piling on dry wood. But when the divinity had completed everything as required, he cast his sandals away into the deep-whirling Alpheus, (140) made the embers die down, and levelled the black ash into the sand for the rest of the night; and Selene's fair light shone upon him.

One point which requires preliminary justification at some length is my translation of 130 ὁσίης. Three constructions of the genitive are possible: (i) 'lusted after (the) ὁσίη of the meat'; (ii) 'the meat of (the) ὁσίη'; or (iii) 'At that point of (the) ὁσίη'. In my view, the noun normally means 'being or behaving in a way authorized by divine law', killing Apollo's cattle is not ὅσιος behaviour, and this rules out (ii) and (iii). This suggests an approximate sense, for which *LSS* 115 A21–5 (Cyrene; fourth century, containing earlier material) gives a more precise parallel: for everyone there is ὁσία of the Akamantia and the shrines, but there is not ὁσία for the pure from most places of death.[6] Here 'ὁσία of the shrines' seems to mean 'religious authorization to consume the meat sacrificed at the shrines', and 'ὁσία from places of death' perhaps 'religious authorization to consume meat taken away from sacrifices at tombs'. It makes good sense here for Hermes to desire the right to eat his beef.[7] This meaning does not, however, exhaust the word, and we will return shortly to add further interpretative precision (p. 194; n. 49).

[5] The sense may be 'suspended in the air' or 'piled up into the air'; see further n. 46.

[6] See Parker (1983: 336–9). Sokolowski prints ὅσιᾰ, but the idiom οὐχ ὁσίᾱ should be preserved.

[7] It is worth mentioning a different interpretation which is ungrounded. Van der Valk (1942) suggested that the notion 'acquitted of debts to the divine' was essential to ὅσιος, in opposition to ἱερός. Jeanmaire (1945) then argued that in six passages, including ours and the Cyrenaean law, ὁσία took on concrete senses based on desacralization. Against Van der Valk's view of the ὅσιος/ἱερός distinction see e.g. Connor (1988). In three of Jeanmaire's other passages one can translate 'religiously acceptable behaviour', as normal (*Hom. Hymn Dem.* 211, *Ap.* 237, *Herm.* 173); his final passage is corrupt (Diggle (1970: 118–20)). Cf. Versnel (2011: 323 n. 45).

Are Hermes' Actions a Sacrifice?

Burkert took Hermes' action as a sacrifice, and a detailed *aition* for a real sacrifice. Kahn thought it a sacrifice, but only a 'pseudo-sacrifice', 'au sens où son objet sera de subvertir la bipolarité infrangible [between sacrificer and recipient], non pour la détruire mais pour introduire passage là où il y avait frontière sans recours'. Clay argued that it is not a sacrifice of any sort.[8]

Function and intention were fundamental to animal sacrifice, which involved one class of beings carefully destroying animals in order to render cooperative beings who (they believed) were of a more divine class.[9] In my view, to call an action without this function a 'sacrifice' risks confusion, even if the Greeks might have occasionally used ἱερεύω or later θύω.[10] Does Hermes, then, aim to make other divinities cooperative by his actions, and does he think himself human, or of an intermediate divinity like that of a nymph, while he acts?[11]

Regarding the first half of this question, Hermes does not want anyone to know about his actions, let alone to look favourably upon them. The whole theft is conducted secretively under the cover of darkness (66–8). He threatens a witness into silence (92–3), hides the cattle in a steading (106), and tries to elude his mother's notice (145–54). He does not advertise his butchery to anyone, and removes most of the traces after the event.

This interpretation certainly requires us to answer some further questions, which will be addressed below.[12] By contrast, alternative interpretations face a more durable objection: they introduce things about which the text is silent as fundamental aspects of motivation. According to Clay, Hermes expected the gods to come for the meat, then inferred that the gods do not eat meat, then cleared up out of embarrassment. But of expectation, inference and embarrassment the hymn gives no hint.[13] Leduc suggests that

[8] Burkert (1984). Kahn (1978), citation from 46–7: 'in the sense that its aim will be to subvert the unbreakable dipole [between sacrificer and recipient], not to destroy it but to introduce a crossing where there was an intractable boundary'. Clay (1989: 116–27).

[9] I say 'cooperative' here rather than 'well-disposed' so as to include oath-sacrifices. Nymphs, of intermediary status, may sacrifice to Zeus: [Aesch.] *PV* 529–31. Gods do not sacrifice to each other, but may supplicate and pour libations to each other: for the latter see Patton (2009).

[10] Casabona (1966: 22–5, 81). See Gibert (2003) on gods metaphorically 'sacrificing' humans.

[11] How divine Hermes is must not be confused with his initial status within Olympian society. His actions are explicitly aimed at progressing from his lowly status (cf. *Hom. Hymn Herm.* 166–81).

[12] For example, why does Hermes make twelve portions? Why does he fail to clear up properly?

[13] Clay (1989: 122–3). She appears to assign Hermes the following reasoning: 'The gods eat meat and will come to my cooking; they have not come, therefore they do not eat; I also cannot eat, therefore I am a god.' I for one could not extract this complicated and invalid reasoning from the passage. Furthermore, Hermes finds himself able not to swallow the meat, rather than unable to, and that is not evidence about divinity: see below.

Hermes expected the gods to come but not eat (as for a theoxeny) and that they approve: again, both expectation and approval would be crucial points which the hymnist omitted to mention.[14]

It is harder to judge how divine Hermes perceives himself to be, since the text gives little access to his thoughts. However, he is proud of his heritage (*Hom. Hymn Herm*. 59), and the presentation of his hunger suggests that he knows in his θυμός that gods should not eat meat, and thinks that this applies to him. Superficially, Hermes' strong bodily desire for food (64 κρειῶν ἐρατίζων – a formula applied to lions in the *Iliad*) looks like a reason to doubt his divinity, since most Greek literature represents the gods as neither desiring nor eating meat. However, there are various exceptions (notably in comedy), and a perfectly coherent interpretation is that Hermes' leonine hunger is a humorous touch.[15] After all, when Apollo also describes Hermes as κρειῶν ἐρατίζων (287), this is in his mind compatible with Hermes' divinity: the hunger is an overstated characterization of Hermes' misbehaviour, and fits easily into the *Hymn*'s lighthearted representation of his mischief and immaturity.[16] More telling is how Hermes' hunger is presented at 130–3, when Hermes still wants to eat but does not. His θυμός overrules temptation, and the fact that it 'did not listen' suggests that it had opposed his hunger before as well, but been ignored: in other words, what changes is the balance of power among his impulses. Specifically, the echo 130 ἔνθ' ὁσίης κρεάων ἠράσσατο ~ 64 κρειῶν ἐρατίζων marks how Hermes' unmediated desire has ceded to recognition of cultural rules. Furthermore, the reason for the intervention of the θυμός is suggested by the double reference to the norm that the gods do not eat meat: Hermes is troubled by the smell 'though immortal', and his throat is specified to be sacred.

Nor, probably, did the audience start with an expectation that Hermes had to learn his full divinity. This is not the case with Apollo, who has similar parentage and illegitimacy but knows his divinity instantly at *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 131–2.[17] Far from seeding suspicion about

[14] (2005: 158–62). I discuss Leduc's account of Hermes' actions from 128 onwards below.

[15] Gods eating meat in Aristophanes: *Pax* 202; Hermes at 192–3, 386–8, *Plut*. 1128–30, 1136–7, cf. Versnel (2011: 352–64); for Heracles after his apotheosis, see e.g. *Pax* 741, *LIMC* IV i 798–801, 817–21. In the distant past, Zeus had chosen what looks like fatty meat at Mekone, and Demeter had eaten Pelops' shoulder. Hermes tastes his cooking in Apollodorus' version of our myth (n. 29). Athena, disguised as Mentor, appears to taste σπλάγχνα at *Od*. 3.66 (see Simon (1953: 9–13)). All this refutes Vernant (1989: 165): 'If [Hermes] tasted it, he would become a man.'

[16] For infants' strong physical desires, see Democritus 68 B70 DK 'Unmeasured desire belongs to the child, not the man.'

[17] This comparison is actively suggested by *Hom. Hymn Herm*.: Thomas (2009: 290–5).

Hermes' status, the primary narrator tells us that Hermes was born of two immortal parents (20), is a θεός (54), and had a ἱερός cradle (21, 63).[18]

In sum, there are hints that Hermes knows from the start that he is divine and that divinities should not eat meat, and this is probably what the audience would assume anyway; nor is he aiming to propitiate anybody. His actions are, therefore, not a sacrifice by my definition.

Hermes' Actions Evoke Sacrificial Procedures

Models, perversions, and parodies of sacrifice need not be sacrifices in the strict sense, but nevertheless require us to ask in what ways they resemble sacrifice. For example, Prometheus' division of the ox at Mekone aims to dishonour the gods, but must in other respects closely resemble the sacrificial ritual whose *aition* it is. As gods may be portrayed performing sacrificial procedures to provide a legitimating model for sacrifices by humans, so Hermes' actions clearly evoke sacrifices.[19]

He kills two flawless cows, exemplary sacrificial victims for whose slaughter the Greeks probably knew no regular context except sacrifices.[20] Verses 130–3 emphasize the division of participation in sacrifices, between gods smelling (normally burnt fat not roast meat: Versnel 2011: 310 n. 6) and the human appetite for meat. We also find the language of ritual. This resonance is particularly clear in ὁσίης (130), but we are primed for the sacrificial connotations of other phrases too. ἔργωι δ' ἔργον ὄπαζε (120) presents a repetition typical of ritualized language; since ἔργωι 'handiwork' actually refers to the blood-letting, it is relevant that the stem ἐργ- often means 'sacrifice'.[21] In v. 137, οὐλο- . . . οὐλο- is another repetition of a semantic item with ritual connotations (e.g. ὁλοκαυ(σ)τ- and ὁλόκαρπος, of sacrificial offerings); the special connection of feet and heads occurs several times in sacred laws.[22] In τέλεον γέρας (129), τέλε(ι)ος is,

[18] Kahn (1978: 56) argues that Hermes' divinity is doubtful when he invents a fire-technique viable for humans (vv. 108–11), like a culture-hero. But Thoth and Enki, for example, are divine culture-'heroes', and Hephaestus teaches men firecraft.

[19] On these portrayals, see Patton (2009: 27–180). For Mekone, see e.g. Hes. *Theog.* 535–60.

[20] The most difficult passage to square with this view is [Arist.] *Oec.* 1349b11–13, but even there the distinction is probably between perfunctory sacrifice and more formal sacrifice at a sanctuary. Clay (1989: 119) asserts that banqueting is 'sufficiently distinct [from sacrifice] to have its own set of rules', and then dismisses the interpretative schema 'sacrifice' entirely. But, as far as the evidence goes, most banquets entailed a kind of sacrifice, and Clay does not account for the pointed similarities mentioned in this section.

[21] 'Doing' and ritual: Casabona (1966: 301–4); Yatromanolakis and Roilos (2004: 9); N. J. Richardson (1974: 303–4).

[22] Burkert (1983: 105 n. 11).

along with τελήεις, a *vox propria* for sacrificial victims, and the γέρας from the animal is often mentioned in sacred laws. Blood sausages (123–4) and the assignment of portions by lot (129) also occurred at sacrifices.[23] πλαταμῶνι (128) probably evokes the tables placed in sanctuaries for carving or depositions.[24] Verse 121, and 127 εἰρύσσατο, unmistakably recall formulaic descriptions of sacrifice in the Homeric poems, while avoiding the exact phrases. Particularly close are:

> μίστυλλόν τ᾽ ἄρα τἆλλα καὶ **ἀμφ᾽ ὀβελοῖσιν ἔπειραν**,
> **ὤπτησάν** τε περιφραδέως, **ἐρύσαντό** τε πάντα.[25]
>
> They cut up the rest and skewered them over spits,
> carefully roasted them, and pulled them all off.
>
> δαῖτ᾽ ἐντυνόμενοι κρέα τ᾽ ὤπτων ἄλλα τ᾽ ἔπειρον *Od.* 3.33
>
> They were roasting meat and skewering other parts in
> preparation for a feast.
>
> οἱ δ᾽ ἐπεὶ ὤπτησαν κρέ᾽ ὑπέρτερα καὶ **ἐρύσαντο** . . . *Od.* x3
>
> When they had roasted the remaining meat and pulled
> it off . . .

The *Hymn*'s divergence from such formulas allows the poet to describe Hermes' actions in more than usual detail, and suggests that they do not follow predetermined procedures. But the overlap simultaneously evokes those procedures.[26] Similarly 138 κατὰ χρέος superficially means 'according to (his) need', i.e. to hide the traces from Apollo, but given the foregoing, the sense 'according to set [i.e. ritual] procedure' can hardly be elided.[27] Finally, Hermes' actions as a whole are proleptic of his role as patron of official κήρυκες who butchered the victims at some public sacrifices; in v. 331, Zeus will recognize Hermes as φυὴν κήρυκος ἔχοντα.[28]

[23] Sacrificial sausages: Ar. *Ach.* 145–6, 1040–1 with Olson (2002); Ath. 4 138–9a; Sokolowski on *LSCG* 151 A52 αἱμάτιον. Sacrificial ballots: Plu. *QConv.* 642f–4, *LSAM* 50.35–6 (Miletus, fifth centuy), Hsch. s.v. μοιρολογχεῖν.

[24] Carving: Durand (1986: 116–23), esp. fig. 38. Depositions: Gill (1974). For other tables, Gill (1991), Jameson (1994a).

[25] *Il.* 1.465–6, 2.428–9, *Od.* 14.430–1; cf. *Il.* 7.317–18, *Od.* 19.422–3 (*v.l.*, in a δαίς-preparation which is not explicitly sacrificial).

[26] *Hom. Hymn Herm.*'s avoidance of formulas is emphasized by Van Nortwick (1975: 107–10). Clay (1989: 119 n. 82) takes it as evidence that Hermes' actions have nothing to do with sacrifice.

[27] For κατὰ χρέος 'according to proper procedure', see Ap. Rhod. 4.889 (of stowing ship's tackle), LSJ s.v. χρέος II 2.

[28] For κήρυκες at sacrifices, see Burkert (1984: 840).

These links to sacrificial procedure were simplified by Apollodorus, who has Hermes boil and eat parts of the meat.[29] A different class of parallels come from other Greek narratives of cattle-rustling. The most famous extant one is that of Nestor's companions at *Il.* 11.670–761. They steal their cattle and drive them back, at night, on an itinerary involving Alpheus and Pylos (all as in the *Hymn*), before sacrificing them in celebration. In a private enterprise, Heracles steals Geryon's cattle and eventually brings them to Tiryns where they are sacrificed to Hera.[30]

Sacrifices and Literature: Some Methodology

Hermes' actions are not a sacrifice, but evoke sacrificial procedures and vocabulary, prompting us to compare them with those procedures. But how we should do that is not trivial. I will begin with four observations which I hope are relatively uncontroversial when stated.

(i) Greek sacrificial procedures were composed of numerous elements that could not be combined promiscuously. The significance of each element was partly context-dependent, and historical rituals were constructed from a series of elements that was felt to have a certain coherence.

(ii) Certain sets of elements frequently co-occurred, as the kernels of various 'types' of sacrifice. However, one must be cautious about assuming that two sacrifices of the same type (particularly that which is often called 'Olympian θυσία') were identical in all their elements, since our sources indicate a range of local idiosyncrasies.[31]

(iii) Literary sources are selective, and generic norms affect how significant it is to omit particular elements. For example, most literary representations of sacrifice do not mention preliminary purifications, but that does not imply that such purifications were historically rare.[32]

(iv) Literary representations are subject to both the logic of a broader narrative and the author's 'literary' aims (e.g. a particular characterization). They are not neutral documentation. Thus, given a good reason, an author could simultaneously evoke more than one 'type' of sacrifice.

[29] *Bibl.* 3.112 'After sacrificing [καταθύσας] two, he nailed the hides to rocks, and of the meat he boiled and consumed some, and burned the rest.' Kahn (1978: 67) nicely says that Apollod reduces the 'épaisseur opératoire' of *Hom. Hymn Herm.*'s account.

[30] Apollod *Bibl.* 2.106–12. For Heracles and Hermes, see below, p. 197.

[31] See e.g. Bremmer (1996: 249–68), *ThesCRA* i 95–129, against the simplified composite picture in e.g. Burkert (1983: 3–6), Detienne (1989: 9–13).

[32] For the norms of archaic hexameter, see Kirk (1980: 64), Hitch (2007). It is legitimate to consider why a generic norm might have turned an essential for real rituals into a rarity for fictional ones, but that will not be my concern here.

I now turn from this groundwork to previous analyses of our passage, beginning with Burkert (1984), which takes insufficient account of points (i) and (iv). With characteristic erudition, Burkert amassed parallels between Hermes' actions and elements known in cults, but the cults used as parallels form a very disparate set – they belong to different periods, different communities (including non-Greek ones), and mix Olympian and chthonian recipients. Burkert admitted this heterogeneity, but nevertheless suggested that Hermes' actions could as a whole reflect a real cult. However, since each similarity is only partial, he did not show that such a cult would have had a coherent significance; he simply assumed that there was a single sacrificial comparandum. Furthermore, he did not consider how narrative logic affects the description.

Kahn (1978) fails to take account of points (ii), (iii), and (iv). She takes the only relevant schema for judging Hermes' 'sacrifice' (as she sees it) to be the composite one of Olympian θυσία,interpreted through the narrative of Prometheus' ox-division. This imposes 'rules': her chapter is entitled 'Contre les règles: un sacrifice efficace'. All of the many omissions and divergences from the schema are ripe for interpretation. For example, Kahn thought that a common sacrificial element was the willingness of the victim, which is opposed by the cows' struggle at *Hom. Hymn Herm.* 116–19; but the victim's willingness (even setting aside the question of whether it was really needed) is not expected in archaic hexameter descriptions of sacrifices, so its absence is scarcely interpretable. Kahn barely considers broader narrative logic.[33]

These objections certainly do not render Kahn's study worthless for understanding Hermes and his *Hymn*. In particular, 'Promethean' sacrifice does indeed offer an important interpretative schema (and we can now add this point to the evidence of the previous section that the *Hymn* is evoking sacrificial procedures). Hermes and Prometheus are related; both are renowned helpers of humans; both make a fire-technique available to humans; this act is intimately related to expert bovine butchery, and to sexual reproduction.[34] Prometheus' division also causes the distinction of eating (human) and savouring (divine) which, as mentioned, is evoked in

[33] The resulting analysis concludes that Hermes collapses the normal distinction between sacrificer and recipient, as in other respects he can penetrate boundaries without destroying their validity for others; in particular, by killing then refusing to eat the cows he can himself pierce the boundary between non-divine and divine. The last claim has been rejected above. Kahn argued her position via some dubious philology, which I discuss in Thomas (2012). On the 'willing victim', see Georgoudi in this volume (Chapter 4), Naiden (2007).

[34] This is more subtle in Hermes' case: as well as the phallic fire-plough at *Hom. Hymn Herm.* 109–10, see 493–4 where Hermes promises to introduce Apollo's cows to reproduction; cf. Kahn (1978: 56).

Table 1

Prometheus (Hesiod)	Hermes (*Hom. Hymn Herm.*)
Unequal butchery.	Equal butchery.
Attempt to outwit Zeus.	Not even communicative.
Later needs to steal divine fire.	First decides to invent human-friendly fire-technique.

Hom. Hymn Herm. 130–3. The hymnist probably knew Hesiod's treatment of Prometheus, and may allude to it.[35] The two narratives are also opposites in important ways (see Table 1, and below), which nuance the intertextual relationship rather than detracting from it.

The third and final work I wish to consider is Leduc (2005: 158–62). Her discussion takes better account of the four observations with which this section began, but is unsatisfactory in other ways. I have mentioned that Leduc suggests, without any hint from the text, that Hermes starts by preparing a human-style δαίς which turns into a theoxeny of which the other gods approve. She goes on to suggest that at verse 128 Hermes converts his rite into one involving τραπεζώματα, i.e. deposition of portions for gods who are *not* expected to come, and finally (134–6) into a dedication; this apparently incoherent series would be justified by a literary point of demonstrating Hermes' mastery of exchanges.[36] However, the allusion to a table (128 πλαταμών) is insufficient as a prompt for us to shift schema to that of τραπεζώματα. For one thing, tables were used in a variety of sacrificial situations; more particularly, the rock here functions as a carving-table, whereas an offering-table very probably received pre-cut depositions.

Hermes' Actions Reconsidered

Let me recapitulate the groundwork up to this point. Hermes' actions are not a sacrifice, but they evoke sacrificial procedure, including the sequence

[35] At *Hom. Hymn Herm*. 243 |γνῶ δ' οὐδ' ἠγνοίησε, Apollo recognizes Maia and sees through Hermes' trick of pretending to be innocently asleep, which has been compared to a hidden ember (237–42); Apollo subsequently (256–9) threatens him with punishment in Tartarus. At Hes. *Theog*. 551 |γνῶ ῥ' οὐδ' ἠγνοίησε, Zeus sees through Prometheus' trick about dividing the ox; Prometheus later hides the seed of fire; Zeus ends up punishing him as if in Tartarus (West (1966: 313–15)). The phrase cited is not extant elsewhere. δόλον αἰπύν occurs only at *Hom. Hymn Herm*. 66, and of Pandora at Hes. *Theog*. 589, *Op*. 83.

[36] The *Hymn* certainly emphasizes this mastery, especially at 516–17 τιμὴν γὰρ πὰρ Ζηνὸς ἔχεις ἐπαμοίβιμα ἔργα | θήσειν ἀνθρώποισι, 'For you have from Zeus the honour that you will lay down the business of interchange for humankind.'

of ritual actions for which Prometheus' ox-division formed the *aition*. The poet had to negotiate potential conflicts between these evocations and the demands of the broader narrative context; his choices were partly influenced by literary norms. In this section, I give my results in interpreting Hermes' actions on this basis.

Generally, the poet places weight on narrative coherence and does not evoke elements that would conflict with it. Hermes cannot waste time on defining a boundary for his actions (ἵδρυσις of the sacred site), or setting up a cauldron in which to boil the flesh slowly; nor does he find barley grains to hand and sprinkle them over the cows; he has no need to wash his hands, or pour liquid as if in libation. Narrative logic motivates Hermes' βόθρος (112), which enables him to create a large fire whose logs are not too high up (he is only an infant, after all) and whose blaze will be less conspicuous if Apollo is already chasing him; its ash can be hidden more quickly than a blood-spattered stone altar.[37] Hermes also cannot stun the cows from above (perhaps as an infant he is too short), but is powerful enough to throw them onto their backs. We are told that he bores through their αἰών (the precise anatomical sense of which here is unclear), because his capacity for piercing things is thematized in the *Hymn*. Both actions are also conditioned by an intratext: this initial treatment of the cows echoes the treatment of the tortoise at vv. 41–6. Both animals are overturned and have their αἰών pierced through their fronts (in particular 42 αἰῶν' ἐξετόρησεν ~ 119 δι' αἰῶνας τετορήσας). The parallelism sets up the *Hymn*'s eventual exchange of lyre (dead tortoise) for cows.[38] Finally, one might infer from the omission of σπλάγχνα, which in epic are normally spit-roasted and tasted before the rest of the meat, that the poet wished to focus on the twelve equal, substantial portions. We will return to their importance shortly.[39]

To my mind the only element whose evocation is noteworthily avoided, given the factors of narrative logic and generic norms, is the act of exsanguination, which could have been mentioned alongside the phrase δι' αἰῶνας τετορήσας which has replaced the act of slitting the

[37] Building a fire in a depression also protects against the wind, and is regularly attested in Greece. We know little about the archaic and Classical cultic significances of βόθρος: see Ekroth (2002: 60–74), which sadly leaves aside archaeological evidence. For pits in sanctuaries which have traditionally (but without cogent evidence) been labelled βόθροι and related to chthonic rituals, see Riethmüller (1999).

[38] Other acts of piercing occur at *Hom. Hymn Herm.* 178, 283, and the motif is rightly central to Kahn (1978).

[39] The σπλάγχνα are also omitted from Hesiod's description of Prometheus' sacrifice: Vernant (1989: 26 n. 17) explains that their intermediate status was incompatible with the sharp lines drawn there.

throat. The exsanguination seems to be present merely in 120 ἔργωι. The 'euphemism' is unusual in epic, though it is found in vase-painting, where σφάξις is hardly ever depicted except in oath-sacrifices (σφάγια).[40]

The presence of other elements suggests sacrificial rituals which take us beyond the comparison with Prometheus' ox-division. The ritual connotation of κατὰ χρέος would be confusing if the only applicable schema were that of Prometheus, since Hermes' actions are quite different. This tells us nothing specific about the other schema(s) evoked. However, the reference to distribution by lot may well have meant something precise to the audience. Certainly, characterization goes some way to explaining it, since it is one of the *Hymn*'s many prolepses of Hermes' future fields of operation, and adds to the contrast between Hermes' equal and Prometheus' unequal butchery.[41] But these factors seem too weak to provide a full explanation: lots were, as far as we know, a peripheral association for Hermes, and the equality of the portions is already strongly emphasized by the assignment of a τέλεον γέρας to each, in pointed renunciation of the norm whereby very few participants received a γέρας.

As well as the equality of the portions, there is the problem of their number: why does Hermes make twelve portions if he is the only diner envisaged? The *raison d'être* of the eleven extra portions is not intrinsic (i.e. to be enjoyed by consumers), but a symbolic relevance can readily be perceived in their relationship of equality with Hermes' portion. Hermes carves them to symbolize his goal of attaining equal honours among a group of divinities. We have already been given hints of his ambition, in his eagerness to have contact with Apollo and his wily comment that the tortoise will benefit him (35); at 166–73 he explicitly states his ambition to lead an Olympian lifestyle.[42] The hypothesized symbolism enhances the contrast between Hermes and Prometheus. The latter's unequal butchery unwittingly engenders the unequal division of the human and divine conditions, whereas Hermes' egalitarian butchery asserts his desire to equate his status with that of the other gods; Hermes and Apollo are brought to harmony at the end of the *Hymn*, whereas Hesiod leaves Prometheus and Zeus at loggerheads. However, the number twelve is a

[40] See van Straten (1995: 103–13).

[41] Hermes is a patron of lots in Eur. fr. 24a. Lots are associated with equal portions in e.g. Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 643a.

[42] We come to realize that at 35 Hermes already saw the lyre as a potential bargaining counter by which he could keep the cows he already intended to steal, and thus acquire τιμή.

clear allusion to Dodecatheon-cults, which takes us beyond Prometheus.[43] A natural interpretation is that the poet alludes to a specific Dodecatheon. Alternatively, the Dodecatheon stands more vaguely as a symbol for an associated abstraction, namely equality among gods. In the next section we will see general arguments in favour of the more specific option.

Finally, the presence of some features is the more remarkable given that they override narrative logic, to which the poet generally adhered. Hermes kills not one but two cows. He forgets to clear away the skins, and actively leaves the steaks as a sign, when he is otherwise careful to cover his tracks. In summary, several features resist a simple explanation from the *Hymn*'s narrative concerns, including the contrast with Prometheus. These are the butchery of two cows, and possibly the allusion to a Dodecatheon and to ballot, and the debris. It is in this residue that we will best be able to discern evocation of other sacrificial procedures.

Beyond Similarity: *Aitia* and Precursors

Hermes' treatment of the hides causes a topographical feature (a rock-formation) that is still visible; indeed, lines 124–6 tautologously use the expressions of continuity typical in *aitia*.[44] Since Hermes' failure in clearing up goes flatly against his apparent desire to do so and his cunning, the creation of aetiological debris must have been fundamental to some other poetic concern.[45] This reinforces the likelihood that the σῆμα of meat (134–6), which within the *Hymn* does not signal anything to anyone, is also an *aition* for an object existing in the poet's time – probably another stone-formation.[46] There is a third possible topographical *aition*. Though Hermes quenches the embers (140 ἐμάρανε), a 'glinting fire' is still

[43] On Dodecathea, see Georgoudi (1996), Long (1987), Weinreich (1937).

[44] Pelliccia (1989); cf. e.g. Hdt. 3.48.3 τῆι καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρέωνται κατὰ ταὐτά, Call. *Hymn* 3.77–8 εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν . . . μένει.

[45] In Sophocles' *Ichneutai*, Hermes kills the cows to get gut strings for his lyre. But in *Hom. Hymn Herm.* he constructs the lyre before stealing the cows. More specifically an alternative account, which possibly preceded *Hom. Hymn Herm.* in the *Megalai Ehoiai* ('Hes.' fr. 256: cf. schol. Ant. Lib. 23), focused on a man called Battos, who saw Hermes mid-theft, promised not to snitch, but was later found susceptible to bribery and turned into a silent rock, namely 'Battos' look-out' in SW Arcadia. Our hymnist may thus have chosen to reconfigure a motif of aetiological petrifaction, by transferring it to the passage under consideration.

[46] Depending on one's interpretation of μετήορα (n. 5), one might think of a stalactite, stalagmite, or cairn. Possibly the audience's local knowledge made them favour one option, or possibly the *aition* was ad hoc and designedly versatile. Leduc (2005: 159) suggests that the σῆμα evokes suspended dedications in general, rather than a topographical feature. Less plausibly, Crudden (1994: 148) envisages a rite where sacrificial portions were actually piled up, and Eitrem (1906: 259 n.16) saw an *aition* for curing meat (though Hermes' meat has been roasted).

identifiable at verses 415–16.[47] The ashes could therefore be taken as the foundations of an ash altar expanded later by human worshippers. The *Hymn to Hermes* locates all three features by the Alpheus (101, 139) in the region of Pylos (398; cf. 216, 342, 355). This specificity, and the *aitia*'s rather forced inclusion, strongly suggest that they were to be identifiable for the audience. And in general, the local precision of ritual *aitia* is crucial to their ability to forge a 'wormhole' between the audience-community and the actions of gods in the legendary past, and thus to their socio-cultural value.[48]

Hermes' sacrifice-like actions cannot have a full causal relationship to the ritual(s) evoked, since he must hide them. However, there are several reasons to think that their relationship to ritual is importantly affine to aetiology. The poet specifically chose this episode from many possible means to work in the topographical aetiologies, which prompts us to seek a concerted function. Such a function would further focus the interpretative lens provided by Prometheus' (aetiological) ox-division, and give fuller force to the ritual connotations of κατὰ χρέος and ὁσίη.[49] Sacrificial rites are standard territory for aetiological myth, since they are benefited by antique and venerable precursors in obvious ways; Hermes' divinity makes him particularly apt to offer such legitimation. A precursor-relationship is also suggested by the passage's preview of Hermes' patronage of κήρυκες at sacrifices, and by the interpretation that his carving symbolizes his *future* equal status with other gods. Finally, the longer *Homeric Hymns*, like the aetiologies in which they abound, offered a shortcut through space-time by which the god became virtually present to the audience at the religious festivals where they were most likely performed.[50]

Given these considerations about the poetic efficacy of evoking specific ritual(s) for which the audience find a precursor in Hermes' actions,

[47] πῦρ ἀμάρυσσον (Lohsee: ἀμαρύσσων Ω) | ἐγκρύψαι μεμαώς. Lohsee's emendation recovers the precise idiom ἐγκρύπτω πῦρ 'I cover a fire within ashes' (e.g. *Od*. 5.488–91, Ar. *Av*. 841, Arist. *Juv*. 470a12).

[48] See e.g. Kowalzig (2007: 24–32). The politicized, manipulable quality of *aitia* is a further reason not to assume – as Burkert (1984) assumed in our case – that they straightforwardly reflect ritual wherever possible. Johnston (2002: 111) aptly says that *Hom. Hymn Herm*.'s myth 'rephrases' ritual; cf. Furley (1981: 41–6).

[49] Compare *Hom. Hymn Dem*. 211: Demeter takes the *kykeon* rather than wine ὁσίης ἕνεκεν – primarily because it is not ὁσίη for mourners to drink wine, but also 'for the sake of (a future instance of) ὁσίη', namely the performance of the ritual drinking of the *kykeon* by Eleusinian initiates, for which Demeter's action is the *aition*. Very similar is Eur. *IT* 1461 ὁσίας ἑκάτι in another *aition*.

[50] The 'shortcut' is created not only by *aitia*, but also by the vividness of the narrative and the deixis of the closing χαῖρε-formula (e.g. *Hom. Hymn Herm*. 579); it is related to the desire of many lyric hymns to induce an actual epiphany. For the *communis opinio* that the *Homeric Hymns* were for performance at festivals, see e.g. Càssola (1975: xiii–xvi).

I suggest the following position: the poet evoked a contemporary cult of a Dodecatheon including Hermes, which was of significance to the audience; Hermes' actions are not just similar to this cult, but are a precursor of it, performed in the same place, and leaving debris which becomes part of the sanctuary; this was in the Western Peloponnese by the Alpheus, some indoor correlate for rocks 'piled up' or 'suspended', a rock which could be interpreted as being covered in a petrified skin, and perhaps an ash altar; the cult would involve the sacrifice of two cows and perhaps distribution of portions by ballot. Other elements in the narrative may be overdetermined, and belong both to the cult evoked and to the narrative flow. For example, it is merely *possible* that two cows were butchered into twelve equal divine portions with γέρα which were deposed on an offering-table before the remainder was divided among humans, the head and feet being burnt.[51]

A less streamlined, fallback hypothesis is that the evocations are all relevant to the audience, but relate to different sanctuaries in one vicinity.

The Performance of the *Hymn to Hermes*

Ours is the only passage in the *Hymn to Hermes* that is so strikingly designed around local knowledge.[52] This suggests that the location of Hermes' actions is the location of the *Hymn*'s first performance. The *Hymn* does not need to and does not name this location, since Hermes must act in a secretive place, not yet populous enough for a name. The topographical information can be summarized by verse 398:

> ἐς Πύλον ἠμαθόεντα ἐπ' Ἀλφειοῦ πόρον ἶξον.
>
> They reached sandy Pylos and the πόρος of Alpheus.

This is related to known hexameter formulas whose referent is Thryon / Thryoessa:

> οἳ δὲ Πύλον τ' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Ἀρήνην ἐρατεινήν
> καὶ Θρύον Ἀλφειοῖο πόρον
>
> As for those who inhabited Pylos and lovely Arene
> and Thryon, the ford of the Alpheus . . .

[51] The twelve gods receive a procession, music, and τραπεζώματα in *LSAM* 32 (Magnesia on the Meander, 197/6). Their cult in other places is known only patchily: Long (1987).

[52] Admittedly, *Hom. Hymn Herm.* 552–66 does describe an oracle near Delphi in a deliberately riddling manner, where I believe the audience need some awareness of the Thriai and Corycian cave if they are to see the full complexity of Apollo's riddle. It is impossible to estimate how widespread such knowledge was at the period.

ἔστι δέ τις Θρυόεσσα πόλις, αἰπεῖα κολώνη,
τηλοῦ ἐπ' Ἀλφειῶι, νεάτη Πύλου ἠμαθόεντος

There is a state called Thryoessa, a steep hill, far away on the Alpheus, on the edge of Sandy Pylos.

καὶ Θρύον Ἀλφειοῖο πόρον . . .
καὶ Πύλον ἠμαθόεντα

. . . and Thryon, the ford of the Alpheus . . . and sandy Pylos.[53]

However, verbal similarities do not entail that the *Hymn to Hermes* also refers to Thryon. The Alpheus must have had other fords including one for visitors to Olympia, and in any case πόρος can also mean 'course', as at Pindar *Olympian* 1.92 Ἀλφεοῦ πόρωι, 10.48 πόρον Ἀλφεοῦ 'the river Alpheus'.[54] As the passages about Thryon suggest, Greeks of the period envisaged a large ancient region called 'Pylos' with the Alpheus near its border.[55]

In sum, the description of *Hom. Hymn Herm*. 398 could signify a long stretch of the banks of the lower Alpheus. However, only one Dodecatheon is known in this area, namely at Olympia, and this fits remarkably well with several other features of the *Hymn*.

Firstly, Hermes and Apollo, the two main characters whose attainment of friendship is traced in the *Hymn*, shared one of the six altars of the Dodecatheon at Olympia (Herodorus *FGrH* 31 F 34a). Secondly, Classical βουθυσίαι are known for the cult: Psaumis conducts conspicuous ones during the Games at Pindar(?), *Ol*. 5.5.[56] Thirdly, Hermes was highly regarded at Olympia, as a patron of κήρυκες at the Games, and for his agonistic, palaestral side.[57] It is precisely in our passage that the *Hymn* alludes to those functions: the way Hermes casts down the cows (118) puts us in mind of a champion boy wrestler. The Games are separately related to

[53] *Il*. 2.591–2, 11.711–12, *Hom. Hymn Ap*. 423–4. Thryon's location is unclear. Strabo and Demetrius were probably guessing when they equated it with Epitalion; Makrysia is an alternative possibility. See Hope Simpson and Lazenby (1970: 83), *LfgrE* II 1066, Visser (1997: 511–12). Leduc (2005: 151) thinks that Hermes' actions must be at Epitalion.

[54] I have not found archaeological consensus on where visitors to Olympia crossed the Alpheus. Pritchett (1980: 267) assumes a ford near the sanctuary.

[55] Fortunately we need not discuss the confusion between Messenian, Triphylian, and Elean Pylos: see *LfgrE* s.v. Πύλος, Frame (2006). The issue would, however, become important for a political analysis of *Hom. Hymn Herm*. based on my results.

[56] Paus. 5.15.10 is the only source for regular sacrifices for the Dodecatheon at Olympia. These are 'old-fashioned' but not necessarily old. They do not involve animal sacrifices.

[57] See e.g. Pind. *Ol*. 6.79 'Hermes . . . who presides over the Games and shares in the prizes'. For the sacrificial duties of Elean heralds at 5th-century Olympia, see Pollux 4.91–2.

the Dodecatheon, in so far as Pindar could imagine them as parts of the same foundation in *Olympian* 10.

Fourthly, the aetiologies are compatible with the landscape at Olympia. Those of the hides petrified on a rock, and of the probable pile of petrified meat, were versatile and interpretable there as at most places. If Hermes left ashes visible for aetiological reasons, Olympia had the most famous ash altar of the Greek world. The hymn also refers to a 'cave' (401) in the landscape, and while the geology around Olympia is poor in caves, there were artificial grottoes in the sanctuary, most notably the 'Idaean cave' which was associated with Cronus and Rhea, who were one of the divine pairs in the Dodecatheon.[58]

We might expect the *Hymn to Hermes* to engage with the *aition* for the Dodecatheon and ash altar at Olympia transmitted by Pindar, namely that Heracles founded them.[59] There are indeed noteworthy hints of this. Just before our passage, Hermes is called Διὸς ἄλκιμος υἱός (101): this is a formula for Heracles, here used instead of the more normal Κυλλήνιος Ἑρμῆς, κρατὺς Ἀργεϊφόντης, or Διὸς ἀγλαὸς υἱός.[60] Heracles' institutions at Olympia were placed after his recovery of cows from Augeas by Pindar and after the Cretan bull by Diodorus 4.13.4–14.1 – both bovine-capturing exploits. Hermes' impressive strength in wrestling two cows to the floor (118) may allude playfully to cults of Heracles where ephebes had to imitate him by lifting up the sacrificial cow.[61]

A separate line of argument also suggests Olympia during the Games as a promising context for the *Hymn to Hermes*. That such a long and virtuosic hymn was composed at all implies a centre with the repute and/or cash to attract rhapsodes of interstate calibre. Such a centre would also increase the likelihood of the hymn being disseminated and saved for posterity.[62] Of the possible locations along the fifth-century Alpheus,

[58] For the Idaean cave see Pind.(?) *Ol.* 5.18 + schol. 42a, and Weniger (1907: 155–62) versus Hampe (1951: 336–40). Settlers at Olympia apparently imported to Cronus' Hill the Cretan story that Curetes nurtured Zeus in a cave unbeknownst to Cronus. On other artificial grottoes at Olympia, see Elderkin (1941: 132–5).

[59] *Ol.* 6.67–70, 10.43–9, 57–60. Burkert thought *Hom. Hymn Herm.* could be 'either a rival tradition or a playful preview' of Heracles' sacrifices at Olympia (1984: 840 n. 33): the latter is more accurate, since Hermes is not precisely *founding* anything. Paus. 5.13.8 cites the Curete Heracles or 'local heroes' as alternative founders. On the politics of such alternatives, Ulf (1997).

[60] Διὸς ἄλκιμος υἱός applies to Heracles three times in the Hesiodic corpus, and is borrowed by Pind. *Ol.* 10.44–5, Theoc(?) *Id.* 25.42.

[61] See Theophr. *Char.* 27.5 with Diggle (2004). *Hom. Hymn Herm.* may also have fashioned its myth after Heracles' abduction of Geryon's cattle. The arguments are beyond my scope here: see Davies (2006), Thomas (2009: 250–1).

[62] *Hom. Hymn Herm.* had reached Athens by the time of Soph. *Ichneutai*: see Pearson (1917: i 228), Vergados (2013:79–86).

Olympia is the most likely. No other figures at all in our patchy record of archaic and Classical Greek music. Several sources mention musical performances on the periphery of the Games, besides epinicia and theoric choruses. In the early fourth century Dionysius I of Syracuse employed rhapsodes to perform his own poetry. A rhapsode of uncertain date called Cleomenes performed Empedocles' *Katharmoi*. Dio Chrysostom's portrayal of the non-athletic visitors includes 'many poets singing their poems, and others praising them', and it would be excessively cautious not to assume this situation for the fifth century too.[63]

In the preceding section I posited a significant relationship between Hermes' actions and a sacrifice to a Dodecatheon known to the *Hymn*'s audience, with possible references to further cults in the vicinity. The only known Dodecatheon that fits the poem's geography was at Olympia. This performance context – perhaps specifically during the Games – also fits well with various independent considerations. To my mind, the theory that the *Hymn to Hermes* was composed for performance at Olympia therefore carries a high degree of coherence and conviction.

*

This conclusion about the performance-context of the *Hymn to Hermes* will not be of equal interest to all readers. However, I hope that my methodology, together with the worked example, will help scholars of both more literary and more historical persuasions to think about how to interpret literary sources for Greek religion sensitively. Several interlocking factors influence literary compositions with a relationship to sacrifice, and the desire to describe a rite to future scholars was never a high priority. Therefore, no single interpretative 'key' is likely to tell the whole story. Our hymnist chose to mould a myth which – so far as we know – had been unrelated to Olympia, so as to include aetiologies for certain topographical features of the sanctuary, and evocations of a sacrificial ritual performed there. The surrounding narrative imposes specific logical constraints and competing literary goals, which play a larger part in shaping Hermes' actions than has generally been admitted. Furthermore, the references to future cult are encoded according to generic norms which allow for

[63] Dionysius: Diod. Sic. 14.109 'He also sent the best rhapsodes, so that by presenting his poems during the *panegyris* they might bring Dionysius repute ... When the rhapsodes undertook to present Dionysius' poems, at first the crowds ran up because of the quality of the performers' voices, and all were impressed. But afterwards they reconsidered the weakness of the poems and ridiculed Dionysius.' Cleomenes: Dicaearchus fr. 87. Dio Chrys. 8.9. According to Pl. *Hp. mi.* 368c, Hippias brought to Olympia hexameter (and other) poems which he had written; performance is not stated explicitly. See in general Weiler (1997).

selectivity in descriptions of sacrifice. One of the poet's main purposes was probably to forge a connection between the two audiences – human and divine – of his hymn. But the episode also gives a preview of Hermes' 'kerykal' and palaestral functions, and characterizes him: his actions turn innately towards the sacred; he is like and unlike Prometheus; he seeks full Olympian status; his strength and cunning are praised.[64] Only with an analysis sensitive to this range of motives can we learn something both about a sacrifice at Olympia, and about the *Hymn*'s mode of engagement with its audience.

[64] Cf. Apollo's impressed responses at 405–8, 436.

CHAPTER 8

Visualising Veneration: Images of Animal Sacrifice on Greek Votive Reliefs

Anja Klöckner

At first glance, images of animal sacrifice do not seem very helpful for the study of Greek religion. The images, mainly vase-paintings and votive reliefs from the late archaic and Classical period,[1] are often generic, composed of stock motifs. This is especially true of the depictions of the animals. Sheep, cattle and pigs are often rendered rather schematically. In this respect, the visual evidence forms a marked contrast to the osteological and epigraphic evidence, which can – at least sometimes – give precise information on the species, sex, age or even colour of the sacrificial victims. And whereas inscriptions may set out clear regulations about which animal is to be offered to which deity, the correlation between sacrificial victims and divine recipients in the images is much looser. In this respect and others, visual art is a problematic source of information on ancient cult practice.

As I am here presenting a study of images of animal sacrifice, this may be a rather frustrating starting point. However, if we shift our focus, the images can provide insight into the contemporary ancient discourse on animal sacrifice from a fresh perspective. In this chapter I do not attempt to use images to reconstruct ritual performance, but will instead analyse the specific references to animal sacrifice in visual media and the function of sacrificial representations in religious communication.

There is no shortage of relevant iconographical data. In this chapter I will concentrate on the Classical reliefs, not only because the vase-paintings have already been discussed intensively, but because this particular class of material has a distinctive communicative role in a religious context. Greek votive reliefs are an important, but still not exhausted, source of

I am very grateful to Sarah Hitch and Ian Rutherford for inviting me to contribute a chapter to this volume. I would also like to express my deep gratitude to Bernd Hoffmann for his kind advice on the physiology of animals.

[1] Hausmann (1948:71–6); van Straten (1995); Himmelmann (1997); Berger (1998); Edelmann (1999); Laxander (2000:7–55, 159–78); Gebauer (2002); van Straten (2005); Blok (2009).

information on Greek religion in general and on animal sacrifice in particular. Large quantities of them were dedicated, primarily in Attica. Many of these marble slabs show worshippers visiting gods and heroes in their sanctuaries: individuals, couples, groups and families demonstrate their devotion and present offerings, mostly sacrificial victims. Whereas vases featured in a large variety of functions in the mundane and festive, sacral and profane life of ancient Greece, the primary function of votive reliefs is always the same. Vases could be used, for example, at symposia as well as for funerals or as donations in sanctuaries; votive reliefs, in contrast, were always gifts for the gods.

In cases where the original context is lost, we know very little about the buyers, owners or recipients of the vases and how they may have used the objects. In contrast to this, we can reconstruct the original context of the stelai, even when nothing has been recorded about it: all of them were offered either by a single person or by a group of votaries to a deity or hero, often to discharge vows. The images of animal sacrifice on vases can refer to rituals performed by the *polis* as well as by individuals, even in mythological settings. In contrast, votive reliefs were all used in rituals performed by particular worshippers, most of them not acting in their capacity as members of subgroups of the *polis*, but instead in the context of private sacrifices.[2] The reliefs are not only images of ritual: they are objects of ritual as well.

Images of Animal Sacrifice on Greek Votive Reliefs: Some Characteristics

The images of animal sacrifice on Greek votive reliefs from the late fifth and the fourth centuries BC have been described and analysed by Folkert van Straten and Martina Edelmann.[3] Both have pointed out that the actual killing of the animal, strikingly under-represented in Greek art as a whole, is almost entirely missing on votive reliefs. Only one relief from Larymna shows the killing of a ram, but it has not been conclusively demonstrated to be a votive, and the interpretation of the image is a matter of debate.[4] Images of the post-kill phase are extremely rare, too. There is again only one relief, an early Hellenistic votive from the Athenian sanctuary of Pancrates (Fig. 8.1), that certainly refers to this stage of the ritual.

[2] Cf. van Straten (1995:60); van Straten (2005:27).
[3] van Straten (1995:58–100); Edelmann (1999:144–54).
[4] Chalkis, AM 7: van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 225 fig. 109; Schild-Xenidou (2005).



Fig. 8.1. Votive relief to Pancrates, from the sanctuary of Pancrates in Athens (early Hellenistic). Athens, Fethiye Camii P 68 A: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Abteilung Athen, Inst. Neg. Athen 1993/1213.

It shows a group of worshippers gathering about a round altar, where meat on two spits is being roasted over a grate.[5] This relief, however, is not only later than most of the other votives in question, but is also singular in its composition. Another early Hellenistic relief, found in Rhamnous, is more conventional. Here something is depicted on the altar that could be interpreted as sacrificial meat, although it cannot be determined unequivocally.[6] Apart from these exceptional pieces, the majority of reliefs under discussion do not show the kill, the handling of the slaughtered animal nor any other preparation for the sacrificial meal. They depict an earlier phase, in which the animal is still alive.

A votive from the Asclepieum of Athens may serve as a typical example for such a pre-kill setting (Fig. 8.2).[7] Even though the left side and the upper right edge are missing, the main elements of the image are clearly recognisable. It belongs to the most popular group of votive reliefs, the so-called adoration reliefs: humans appear before gods, in this case Asclepius

[5] Athens, Fethiye Camii P 68 A: Vikela (1994), cat. no. S 1 pl. 32.
[6] Rhamnous, AM 102: van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 47.
[7] Athens, NM 1333: van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 8 fig. 59.

(a)



(b)



Fig. 8.2. (a) Votive relief to Asclepius and Hygieia, from the Asclepieum in Athens (second half of the fourth century BC). Athens, NM 1333: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Abteilung Athen, Inst. Neg. Athen NM 6246 (photographer: Gösta Hellner); (b) Detail of fig. 8.2a.

and Hygieia; they worship them through gestures and present offerings. An altar marks the border between gods and humans and serves as their meeting point as well. The sacrificial victim, a sheep, is led to the altar by a small male. He wears an *exomis* and holds a flat basket in his left hand, which, according to van Straten, can be identified as the *kanoun*.[8] His small size and his beardlessness are not to be read as indications of age but only of his social status: he is a servant, not a child.[9] The servant is followed by the worshippers, all of whom are wearing appropriate dress and the adults, at least, have their right hand raised in adoration.[10] The final position in this small procession is occupied by a female carrying a large cylindrical basket on her head. This *kiste* was used as a container for transportation. It is always shown closed, sometimes covered with a cloth, so that the contents are not visible. Following ancient sources, we can safely assume that the basket was meant to include implements, offerings and food needed for the performance of ritual.[11]

The same set of figures and motifs is used on a votive to Zeus Meilichios from the Piraeus (Fig. 8.3). Again, a male servant with a *kanoun* is leading an animal, a rather meaty pig, to the altar and the group of worshippers is accompanied by a woman carrying a *kiste*. Modest votives like this and high-quality works like the stele from the Asclepieum (Fig. 8.2) both draw on the same pool of pictorial patterns, even if the stonemasons have executed them with varying levels of skill.

While the general structure of the images is always the same (gods and heroes on one side, worshippers on the other, turning towards them), the combination and choice of the iconographical elements can differ. Not every votive that refers to animal sacrifice uses all the motifs: some may be left out, others are indispensable. At least one deity, one worshipper and the sacrificial victim are obligatory.

At first sight, the altar seems to be a standard element of the images, but this is not the case. The altar is a frequent, but not necessary, element in images of animal sacrifice. On about one-third of all complete votive reliefs with worshippers, an altar is depicted between the deities and the mortals.

[8] On the *kanoun* in images of animal sacrifice cf. van Straten (1995:162–4); *ThesCRA* V (2005:269–74) s. v. *Kanoun*.

[9] van Straten (1995:60–1, 65–7, 168–80); Edelmann (1999:144–5 (names the attendants as boys)). According to Vikela, the attendant on a votive relief from the sanctuary of Pancrates (Athens, Fethiye Camii P 27 B) wears a beard: Vikela (1994), 46–7 cat. no. F 2 pl. 28, 2.

[10] On the different habitus of the worshippers, according to gender and age, cf. Klöckner (2002); Klöckner (2006).

[11] On the *kiste* as ritual implement cf. *ThesCRA* V (2005), 274–8 s. v. *Kiste, cista*. On the maid carrying the *kiste* on votive reliefs, see van Straten (1995:60–1, 169); Edelmann (1999:149).

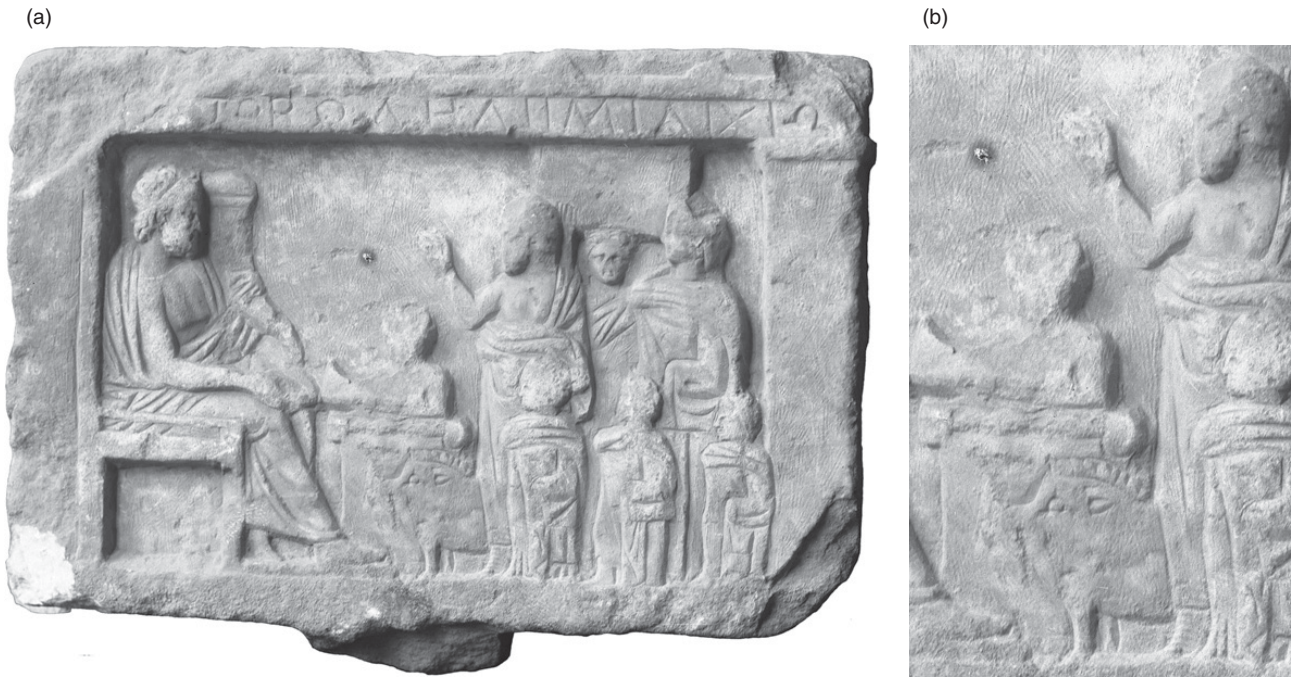


Fig. 8.3. (a) Votive relief to Zeus Meilichios, from the Piraeus (late fourth century BC). Piraeus, AM Pir 3: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Abteilung Piräus 12; (b) Detail of fig. 8.3a.

However, not all of these reliefs show a sacrificial victim and, conversely, not every relief with a sacrificial victim shows an altar.[12] The iconographical elements 'sacrificial animal' and 'altar' are used independently of each other. The focus of the sacrificial ritual (the altar) and the object of the ritual (the victim) are not necessarily linked together. In this respect, the votive reliefs once more differ significantly from the vases, where the altar is an iconographical element of central importance.[13] The presentation of the sacrificial victims and the depiction of the altar both refer to ritual in general, but also to specific aspects of it. The image of an animal characterises the gift offered, while the altar as the focus of the cultic action alludes to the ritual performance.

As regards the personnel, the male servant is shown quite often, whereas the woman with the basket is depicted less frequently.[14] While the leading of the animal is substantial for the ritual performance, the *kiste* is a useful but not essential item in this context. The sequence of the iconographical elements is not random, but follows fixed rules,[15] as does the order of the worshippers. The grades of rank in the procession, according to gender and age, are usually made unmistakably clear by the position of the participants: men walk ahead of women, children stand behind adults or, in lower relief, at their side. Social and situational status, however, do not always coincide. The stonemasons dealt with this problem by reversing the conventional sequence and placing a particular woman or child at the head of the procession, to stress that person's special status on the votive. The woman carrying the *kiste* is always placed at the rear of the procession (Fig. 8.2) or, sculpted in lower relief, in the background (Fig. 8.3). This indicates that her rank is lower than that of the other participants; she seems to be a servant rather than a member of the family, even though she is not characterised by typical servant's dress like the maids on grave reliefs.[16] In the case of the male servant, his position at the front of the procession is determined only by the importance of his action.[17] Because

[12] Cf. e. g. Athens, NM 3952: van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 90 fig. 93 (erroneously cited as EM 3942). Athens, NM 1532: ibid. cat. no. R 137 fig. 106. Patras, AM: ibid. cat. no. R 113 fig. 99. Even if the altar was originally indicated in paint, it surely had no prominent place in these images.

[13] van Straten (1995:165–7); Gebauer (2002:515–24).

[14] Edelmann (1999:146). For votive reliefs with male servant and the maid carrying the *kiste* see e. g. Athens, NM 1333 van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 8 fig. 59 (fig. 8.2). Piraeus, AM 3 ibid. cat. no. R 44 fig. 75 (fig. 8.3). For votive reliefs with male servant, but without the maid, see e. g. Athens, NM 1407: ibid. cat. no. R 27 fig. 61. Paris, Louvre 755: ibid. cat. no. R 23 fig. 63.

[15] Contra Edelmann (1999:144).

[16] Contra Edelmann (1999:146).

[17] Normally, the servant is depicted in front of the worshippers. For examples, cf. Edelmann (1999:144 n. 904). Less frequently, the servant is depicted between or beside the worshippers (ibid. n.905) or even behind them (ibid. n. 906).

the presentation of the animal has to take place at the altar in front of the deities, the person guiding the animal has to fulfil an important task, although he is not significant in himself.

Status is also clearly indicated by different grades of visibility. Not only the figures' position in the procession can indicate their importance, but also the space they occupy. This is again especially evident in the case of the servants. On some votives the male servant is hidden behind the altar, the animal or other worshippers.[18] He can then only be identified by the *kanoun* in his hand, which seems to be more important to the depiction than the person holding it. The same is true of the maid carrying the basket. The *kiste*, often of enormous size, is always clearly visible, while its bearer is sometimes hardly discernible.[19]

As already mentioned, the votive reliefs commemorate private sacrifices; they do not refer to public festivals like many of the vases. This connection to the *oikos* may explain the main differences in iconography. On many vases the processions include musicians, but they are not present on the votive reliefs.[20] The *kanephoros*, a young woman carrying the *kanoun* at the head of the *pompe*, is a typical element of vase-paintings, but we know only one example of a *kanephoros* on a votive relief.[21] To be a *kanephoros* was a prestigious duty for well-born girls and women at official festivals of the *polis*, but evidently the donors of the votive reliefs chose not to refer to it on their offerings. Conversely, the maid carrying the *kiste* on the votive reliefs is never seen on vases, because the motif was not significant in the iconography of public festivals.[22]

The Sacrificial Victims

After discussing the participants in the sacrificial procession, we should now turn to the key element of the ritual action: the animals. As we have already seen, the victims, together with the servant leading them, usually occupy the first position in the procession, opposite the deities and in front of the worshippers. In exceptional cases, where the contact between the deity and the worshippers is characterised as particularly close, they move

[18] Cf. e. g. a votive relief from Epidaurus, whereabouts unknown: Dentzer (1982), cat. no. R 422 fig. 644; van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 33 fig. 58. Mytilene, AM 221: ibid. cat. no. R 157.

[19] Edelmann (1999:146) with note 918. Cf. also Athens, NM 1513: Dentzer (1982), cat. no. R 392 fig. 623; van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 193.

[20] There are only few exceptions. Cf. Olbia (?): van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 114. Frgt. from the art market (votive? antique?): Edelmann (1999, 45 n. 217; 243), cat. no. U 137.

[21] Olbia (?): see above. On *kanephoroi* van Straten (1995:14–24); Gebauer (2002:169–71).

[22] van Straten (1995:60); Edelmann (1999:146).

further back, so that they do not disrupt the face-to-face encounter. This is the case, for example, on the votives depicting kneeling prayer, a typically female form of communication with the god.[23]

On some reliefs, the size of the animals is exaggerated in comparison to that of the worshippers. A votive to Heracles found near the River Ilissus can be taken as an example.[24] Here, a huge bull is placed in the middle of the slab. It takes up more space than the depiction of the worshippers or of Heracles. Because of the enormous size of the animal, even the servant leading it is much larger than usual. In this way the donor of the votive could stress both the value of his gift and his own generosity. However, this is the exception to the rule. In most cases the desire to enhance the offering visually is not so blatant. The majority of the votives show the animals in more or less realistic proportions relative to the worshippers – if anything, too small rather than too large.[25] Their position is not as prominent as on the relief to Heracles, but in many cases they are depicted with no overlapping.[26] Often enough, however, they are only partly visible. Again, the reliefs to Asclepius and to Zeus Meilichios mentioned above can be taken as examples (Figs. 8.2–8.3). Here we see the sacrificial victims in front of the altar, but their hind legs are hidden behind the first worshipper. The species of the animals (a sheep and a pig) is nevertheless clearly identifiable. Even on crowded reliefs with a large number of figures, the head, at least, of the animal is crammed in. On some examples, this makes it difficult to spot the animal at first glance, even if we take into account that the image originally may have been coloured.[27] A quite inventive solution was found by the sculptor of a votive to Athena with an extremely large procession, composed of at least eight males.[28] The craftsman altered the iconographical conventions and depicted the head of the sacrificial victim directed not towards, but away from the deity – simply to make it more visible in the narrow gap between the first worshipper and the altar. Evidently it was important to show the sacrificial animal, but only to a certain degree. In most cases, it is not the main iconographical element in the image, but merely one among others. If the others occupy too much space, the animal is only represented partially; just enough to recognise its species.

[23] On kneeling worshippers, van Straten (1974); Klöckner (2006:146–9).
[24] Athens, NM 3952: van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 90 fig. 93 (erroneously cited as EM 3942). Cf. e. g. Athens, Fethiye Camii P 5 A: Vikela (1994), cat. no. F 10 pl. 31, 1 (large bull). Delos AM A 412: Marcadé (1973:362 fig. 39); van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 153 (large ram).
[25] On the considerations by which the size of the animals is dictated, van Straten (1995:170).
[26] Cf. e.g. Athens, NM 1407: van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 27 fig. 61 (sheep). Athens, Fethiye Camii P 56 B: Vikela (1994), cat. no. A 4 pl. 4.
[27] Cf. e. g. Athens, NM 1402: van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 19 fig. 66.
[28] Athens, Acropolis Museum 3007: van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 60 fig. 80.

Species, Age and Sex of the Sacrificial Victims

Concerning the species, age and sex of the sacrificial victims on the votive reliefs, we should bear in mind that we are, for the moment, addressing only iconography. Whether and to what extent the images stand for animals which had been sacrificed in reality will be discussed later.

Usually, only one animal is shown on each votive relief. Examples with two or more animals, whether of the same or of a different species, are rare.[29] As regards the ratio of species depicted, pigs are most popular, followed closely by sheep. Cattle are much rarer, but still more frequent than goats. Other animals like fish or deer are shown only exceptionally.[30]

[29] **Two sheep**: Delphi, AM 1202: van Straten (1995), 76, 288 cat. no. R 56.
Three sheep: Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 78.AA.264: LIMC VIII (1997:13), no. 60* s.v. Thetis (Rainer Vollkommer).
Pig and sheep: Piraeus, AM 33: LIMC IV (1988, p. 804 no. 1390*), s. v. Herakles (John Boardman); van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 91. Athens, NM 1532: ibid., cat. no. R 137 fig. 106. Athens, NM 1395: ibid., pp. 73, 283–4, cat. no. R 37 fig. 72.
Bovine and sheep: Athens, NM 1404: van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 92 fig. 94. Whereabouts unknown, from Laconia: ibid. cat. no. R 104 ('bov. and sheep (?)').
Bovine, sheep (?) and goat: Athens, NM 2390: Svoronos (1908–37), III, 636 no. 357 pl. 140, 5; van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 43 ('bov. and two goats').
Cf. also Delphi, AM 1101 + 3815 + 8874: Zagdoun (1977:32–40), nos. 8–9 figs. 21–4 (behind the legs of the sheep a hind leg of another animal can be discerned); van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 77.

[30] Because of the restricted place only complete reliefs, but no fragments, are cited in the following list.

Pigs: Athens, Fethiye Camii P 48 B: Vikela (1994), cat. no. A 11 pl. 9. Athens, Fethiye Camii P 53 B: ibid., cat. no. A 9 pl. 6, 3. Athens, Fethiye Camii P 56 B: ibid., cat. no. A 4 pl. 4. Athens, Fethiye Camii P 81 A: ibid., cat. no. B 6 pl. 20, 1. Athens, NM 1334: (fig. 8.5) van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 9 fig. 64. Athens, NM 1377: ibid., cat. no. R 18 fig. 67. Athens, NM 1402: ibid., cat. no. R 19 fig. 66. Athens, NM 1516: Dentzer (1982), cat. no. R 394 fig. 625; van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 130. Athens, NM 1532: ibid., cat. no. R 137 fig. 106. Athens, NM 1538: Dentzer (1982), cat. no. R 402 fig. 632; van Straten (1995:307), cat. no. R 131. Athens, NM 1539: Svoronos (1908–37), III, pp. 570–1 no. 217 pl. 93, 1; van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 168. Athens, NM 3608: ibid., cat. no. R 68 fig. 82. Athens, NM 3873: van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 126 fig. 103. Delos, AM A 7724: Siebert (1988), 765 fig. 33. 36; van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 81. Istanbul AM 70: Dentzer (1982), cat. no. R 295 fig. 547; van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 160. London, BM 713: Dentzer (1982), cat. no. R 490 fig. 711; van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 176. Malesina: LIMC VI (1992, p. 1040 no. 282*), s. v. Heros Equitans (Aleksandrina Cermanovic-Kuzmanovic et al.); van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 105. Mantua, Palazzo Ducale 6684: ibid., cat. no. R 181; Rausa (2000:46–9), cat. no. 6 with colour plate. Paris, Louvre Ma 752: van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 67 fig. 81. Paris, Louvre Ma 2416 (MNC 1834): Hamiaux (1992), cat. no. 239 with fig.; van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 185. Paris, Louvre Ma 2417: Hamiaux (1992), cat. no. 303 with fig.; van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 138. Patras, AM 208: ibid., cat. no. R 34 pl. 71. Piraeus, AM Pir 3 (fig. 8.3): van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 44 pl. 75. Sicyon, AM 345: Dentzer (1982), cat. no. R 259 fig. 511; van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 141. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum I 1083: van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 112 ('sheep?'). From the Asclepieum (?) in Piraeus, whereabouts unknown: ibid., cat. no. R 30 fig. 68. From Piraeus, whereabouts unknown: Dentzer (1982), cat. no. R 229 fig. 484; van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 132. Found near Epidauros, whereabouts unknown: ibid., cat. no. R 33 fig. 58. Art market: Dentzer (1982), cat. no. R 244 fig. 497; van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 135.

Folkert van Straten has analysed the relative frequency of various species of sacrificial animals, not only on votive reliefs but also on vase-paintings and in inscribed sacrificial calendars.[31] As regards the three most common types – cattle, sheep and pigs – the three classes of material display very different patterns. In sacrificial calendars there is a significant peak in the number of sheep, while on vase-paintings cattle are clearly dominant. As van Straten convincingly argued, this striking difference is because of the peculiarities of each class of evidence. He connected the choice of sacrificial animals with their price. While in classical Athens, cattle were 40 to 90 *drachmai* a head, adult sheep cost from 10 to 17 *drachmai* and adult pigs ranged from 20 to 40 *drachmai*.[32] Vase-paintings refer mainly to festive occasions with a large and costly sacrifice, and therefore tend to show cattle, the most expensive animals. The epigraphic evidence relates to communal sacrifices of an intermediate level, which explains the dominance of the comparatively inexpensive sheep and, to a lesser degree, pigs.

Sheep: Athens, Goulandris Museum 58: van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 187. Athens, NM 1407: ibid., cat. no. R 27 fig. 61. Athens, NM 1408: ibid., cat. no. R 45 fig. 76. Athens, NM 1532: ibid., cat. no. R 137 fig. 106. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 1594: Moltesen (1995:147), cat. no. 79 (with fig.). Corfu, AM 170: Dentzer (1982), cat. no. R 333 fig. 576; van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 148. Delos, AM A 3201: Dentzer (1982), cat. no. R 277 fig. 528; van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 154 (hellenistic). Istanbul, AM 407: ibid., cat. no. 149 fig. 107. Mariemont B 149: Dentzer (1982), cat. no. R 475 fig. 696; van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 182. Naples, NM 126174: Kraus and von Matt (1973:193), cat. no. 266 with fig.; van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 69. Patras, AM: ibid., cat. no. R 113 fig. 99. Verona, Museo Maffeiano 564: Ritti (1981:54–5), cat. no. 21 with fig.; van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 186. Vicenza, Museo Civico EI-54: Galliazzo (1976:42–5), cat. no. 9 with fig.; van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 54. Private collection (Sir Charles Nicholson): ibid., cat. no. R 111 fig. 100. From Amorgos: ibid., cat. no. R 109 fig. 101 (hellenistic). From Erythrai, whereabouts unknown: Engelmann and Merkelbach (1973:425), cat. no. 349 with drawing; van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 165 (hellenistic).

Cattle: The votive reliefs with cattle are listed in Klöckner (2006:142 n. 16).

Goats: Brauron, AM 1153: van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 75 fig. 87. Delos, AM A 3153: ibid., cat. no. R 78 fig. 89. Paris, Louvre Ma 756: ibid., cat. no. R 71 fig. 85.

Fish: Athens, Fethiye Camii P 7 A: Vikela (1994), cat. no. A 17 pl. 15, 1.

In the case of deer it is debatable whether the animal is meant as sacrificial victim or as attribute of the deities: Vierneisel and Scholl (2002:12, 35). Cf. Athens, NM 1950: van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 76; Kaltsas (2002:142), cat. no. 273 with fig. (deer and bird). Munich, Glyptothek 552: Vierneisel and Scholl (2002). Whereabouts unknown, from Thessaly: Stengel (1910:200) (buck and deer). The animal on a votive relief in Brindisi may be a deer too: van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 82 ('sheep, goat or deer?').

According to Edelmann (1999:148, 195), cat. no. B 79 a votive relief in London, BM 792, shows the offering of a cock to Asclepius. However, having inspected this relief in the magazine of the British Museum, I am of the opinion that the offering is not a cock, but a cup, perhaps a kantharos, and that the deity is surely not Asclepius.

[31] van Straten (1995:170–86).

[32] On the price of sacrificial animals, see also *ThesCRA* I (2004:101–13), s. v. Prix des animaux, sommes à acquitter pour les sacrifices.

Votive reliefs as documents of mainly private worship show a high number of sheep and pigs too, but more of the latter.[33]

With regard to the age of the sacrificial victims, the images rarely show any gradations between young and adult animals. Size is a problematic criterion in this context,[34] because the proportions of animals, worshippers and gods follow pictorial conventions: they cannot be read literally. The physique, however, can be telling. Very few of the votives unambiguously show a piglet, whereas many of them clearly depict fat, adult pigs.[35] Cattle are always characterised as thoroughly well-fed, and as mature animals, not calves. In the case of sheep and goats, the rendering of the woolly bodies is too schematic to differentiate between kids and lambs or adult animals. Only large horns can give us a clue that the beast depicted is not supposed to be young.

Sometimes the horns are also taken to be an indicator of the sex of the sacrificial victims. Some scholars tend to identify sheep and goats as male if they are depicted with horns. However, this detail is irrelevant to this issue, because female animals can also have horns, though less frequently and, for the most part, smaller ones than males. Only if the genitals are depicted can the sex of the animal be defined beyond doubt. However, this clarifying detail is seldom provided.[36] For this purpose, it would obviously be necessary that the hind parts of the animal be visible. As already mentioned, on many votives only the foreparts are represented. Even where the animals are represented without overlapping, so the genitals could in principle have been shown, they are depicted only on a few examples. Clearly indicated testicles are of course an unequivocal mark that the animal is male.[37] Animals clearly characterised as female are extremely rare. The sow, perhaps pregnant, on a late archaic votive to Athena is an exception.[38] If genitals are lacking, one should be cautious about drawing conclusions about the sex of the animal: it could stand for a female, a castrated or a schematically rendered male one, or it could even be read as a formula for the species as such.

[33] van Straten (1995), diagrams on p. 172 and on p. 174. [34] van Straten (1995:170–1).

[35] This fact was already stated by Schörner (1997:558). For piglets, see for example Eleusis, AM 5063 (side A): van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 65 fig. 83; Wulfmeier (2005:43–51, 135–6), cat. no. WR 27 pl. 17, 1.

[36] Melldahl and Flemberg (1978:72–3); van Straten (1995:170); Gebauer (2002:184).

[37] For a clearly marked bull, see e.g. Athens, Fethiye Camii P 5 A: Vikela (1994), cat. no. F 10 pl. 31, 1. Athens, NM 3952: van Straten (1995), cat. no. 90 fig. 93 (erroneously cited as EM 3942). For a ram, see e. g. Athens, NM 2850: Dentzer (1982), cat. no. R 165 fig. 436; van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 122. Delos A 412: Marcadé (1973:362), fig. 39; van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 153.

[38] Athens, Acropolis Museum 581: van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 58 fig. 79.

We should take into account that not only the modern scholar, but also the contemporary beholder would not have been clearly informed about the sex of the sacrificial victims by the images. However, the ancient viewer did not need such information, because the context of the votive, i.e. the original setting in the sanctuary, will have made it clear what kind of animal was meant. Evidently, it was not necessary to specify the sex of the animals visually in many cases. This stands in contrast to the vases, which are more detailed in this respect. This is surely because they were not necessarily integrated into a specific ritual context.[39]

Which Animals Were Offered to Whom and Why?

The connections between sacrificial animals and the divine recipients on votive reliefs have been described in detail. Folkert van Straten assigned the sacrificial victims to the deities venerated and Martina Edelmann did the reverse, assigning the venerated deities to the sacrificial victims.[40] Both these ways of ordering the material are extremely helpful for any further study in this field, but neither of them has revealed many significant characteristics. It seems that on the reliefs there is only rarely a fixed correlation between the deity and the species of sacrificial victim. On votives for Artemis, for example, we find goats, which are rare on votives for other deities, but we find cattle, sheep and pigs too.[41] If we analyse the votives from certain sanctuaries, there are hardly any preferences to be found either. The Athenian sanctuary of Pancrates is a very instructive example. In the votives from this findspot we have a wide range of sacrificial victims: pigs, sheep, cattle and even fish.[42]

Complicating the matter even further is the fact that the iconographical evidence for animal sacrifice differs also from the epigraphic evidence, at

[39] Cf. e. g. van Straten (1995), cat. no. V 384 fig. 43 (bull), cat. no. V 408 fig. 42 (ram).

[40] van Straten (1995:63–72 (Asclepius), 72–4 (other healing gods), 74–6 (Zeus), 76–7 (Athena), 77–9 (Demeter and Kore), 80 (Aphrodite), 81–6 (Artemis, Hekate), 86–7 (Apollo), 87 (Dionysus), 87–9 (Heracles), 89–90 (Pancrates and Palaimon), 90–2 (nymphs), 92–100 (heroes)); Edelmann (1999: 147–9 (pigs), 149–50 (sheep), 150–2 (cattle), 152–3 (cattle)). Cf. also *ThesCRA* I (2004), pp. 68–95 s. v. Répartition des espèces sacrifiées en fonction des divinités et des héros; Bremmer (2007).

[41] For goats on votives for Artemis, cf. e. g. Brauron, AM 1153: van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 75 fig. 87. For cattle on votives for Artemis, cf. e. g. Brauron, AM 1152 (fig. 8.4): ibid., cat. no. R 74 fig. 86. For sheep on votives for Artemis, cf. e. g. Delphi, AM 1101 + 3815 + 8874: Zagdoun (1977:32–40), nos. 8–9 figs. 21–4; van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 77. For pigs on votives for Artemis, cf. Delos, AM A 7724: Siebert (1988:765), fig. 33. 36; van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 81.

[42] Vikela (1994), cat. no. A 4 pl. 4. cat. no. A 9 pl. 6, 3. cat. no. A 11 pl. 9. cat. no. B 6 pl. 20, 1. cat. no. F 2 pl. 28, 2 (pigs); cat. no. A 1 pl. 1. cat. no. A 20 pl. 16, 2 (sheep); cat. no. F 10 pl. 31, 1 (bull); cat. no. A 17 pl. 15, 1 (fish).

least in some cases. In the inscriptions, sacrifices of pigs to Demeter are mentioned quite often, but they are not very frequent on votive reliefs.[43] And while the reliefs show many sheep being offered to Asclepius, sheep are mentioned infrequently in connection with this deity in the inscriptions.[44] With regard to goats, however, the epigraphic and the iconographical evidence match. We can explain this in two different ways: either the scope permitted in the choice of animal was broader for the individual dedicants than the inscriptions suggest, or else the images are to a certain degree independent of the ritual practice. We will return to this issue later.

While this is frustrating for anyone searching for specific patterns, it does not mean that no such patterns exist, for they do not necessarily correlate with the divine recipients. As I have shown elsewhere, they may also correlate with the purpose of the offering.[45] A significant example is the sacrifice of cattle. This species appears strikingly often on dedications by family groups large and small (Fig. 8.4), while it is otherwise almost entirely absent from the repertoire of the stelai. It seems that its depiction is primarily linked to a specific function of the votive in question: they were set up almost exclusively for children. Of course, neither in image nor in reality were ritual performances concerning boys and girls always and exclusively associated with specific types of sacrifice. On votive reliefs set up for children, pigs and sheep are also represented. Votives for children do not invariably depict cattle as sacrificial animals, but when cattle are depicted, then it is very often a votive for a child. Images of the most expensive sacrificial victims were used only in a particular context.

Animal Sacrifice and the Composition of Votive Reliefs

After this discussion of the various motifs used in images of animal sacrifice on votive reliefs, we now turn to the range of these images within this specific genre. It has already been noted that, even though the total number of sacrificial representations is large, they form only a minority of the whole class of votive reliefs.[46] A reference to animal sacrifice is only one of many options used to compose these images. The priority was to depict the face-to-face encounter of mortals and deities. Only on about one-quarter of the

[43] Sacrificial animals are significantly rare on votive reliefs for the Eleusinian goddesses at all. Cf. van Straten (1995:77). On the epigraphic, literary and archaeozoological evidence cf. *ThesCRA* I (2004), pp. 79–81 s. v. Demeter (and Kore).

[44] van Straten (1995); Edelmann (1999:149). On the epigraphic and literary evidence cf. *ThesCRA* I (2004), 76–7 s. v. Asclepios (alone or with Hygieia).

[45] Klöckner (2006:141–4).

[46] van Straten (1995:58).



Fig. 8.4. (a) Votive relief to Artemis, from Brauron (second half of the fourth century BC). Brauron, AM1152: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Abteilung Athen, Inst. Neg. Athen 1989/1272 (photographer: Elmar Gehnen); (b) Detail of fig. 8.4a.

so-called adoration reliefs is a sacrificial animal represented, while the others do without it.[47] This clearly demonstrates that animal sacrifice is not an indispensable element in images of religious communication. Nevertheless, it is important. Given the potential variety of motifs that could refer to cult, the images are in fact extremely selective. Whenever other iconographical elements are included in the images as well as the standard setting of worshippers and deities, sacrificial animals are by far the most frequent such additional motif. Other gifts, like ceramics or food, which were offered in the sanctuaries on a huge scale, are depicted only exceptionally.[48] If anything is presented to the gods on the images, it is nearly always a sacrificial victim. References to ritual performances other than animal sacrifice, like the preparation of a *trapeza*, tend to be rare, too.[49] It is also debatable whether the ritual of the *theoxenia* can be distinguished in the pictorial evidence. It is at least problematic to connect the tables set for a meal on the banquet reliefs with *theoxenia*, either as direct representations or as more discreet references; they are part of the heroic setting and not of the world of the worshippers.[50]

As animal sacrifice is a frequent but not obligatory element of human-divine encounter on votive reliefs, we should now turn to its specific function in this context. Evidently, the aspect of communication is of crucial importance. With very few exceptions, the reliefs never show the animals alone but always as part of a sacrificial procession.[51] In contrast to the many offerings made, for example, of terracotta and bronze, the main aim of the reliefs is not only to perpetuate the gifts, but also to represent the donors. However, they represent themselves first and foremost as worshippers, and only secondarily as officiants. They approach their divine counterpart in a reverent posture and only rarely occupy themselves with preparations for the sacrifice.[52] Ritual implements other than the *kiste* or

[47] Cf. e. g. Athens, NM 1431: LIMC VIII (1997), 340 no. 200 s. v. Zeus (Michalis A. Tiverios).

[48] Edelmann (1999:153).

[49] For *trapezai* on votive reliefs for Asclepius, see e. g. Athens, Acropolis Museum 2452 (side A): Wulfmeier (2005:51–3) 120 cat. no. WR 4 pl. 4, 1. Athens, NM 1335: van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 10 fig. 70. Athens, NM 1346 (?): Kaltsas (2002), 142 cat. no. 271 (with fig.). Athens, NM 1368: van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 14; Leventi (2003:143–4), cat. no. R 38 pl. 28. For *trapezai* on votive reliefs for Men, see e. g. Athens, Agora Museum: *LIMC* VI (1992, p. 469 no. 116* s. v. Men (Rainer Vollkommer). Athens, NM 1406: ibid. p. 469 no. 115*. Boston, MFA (1972.78: ibid. p. 470), no. 126*. Formerly Amsterdam, Coll. Witrius: ibid. p. 469 no. 114*. Cf. also Athens, NM 3942: Kaltsas (2002:216–17), cat. no. 448 (with fig.). Athens, Fethiye Camii P 8 A: Vikela (1994), cat. no. A 12 pl. 10.

[50] Klöckner (2010).

[51] Cf. e. g. a votive relief with a sheep in Larisa, AM 76/7: van Straten (1995), cat. no. 232 (third century BC); a bull on two votive reliefs of unknown date from Paros: Rubensohn (1902:224); *IG* XII 5 no. 254.

[52] Cf. e. g. Athens, NM 1384: van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 39 fig. 73.

the *kanoun*, such as the *liknon*[53] or the *chernips* (the vessel holding water to wash the hands),[54] are hardly ever found on the images.

If we take into account the genre-specific pictorial potential of votive reliefs, animal sacrifice could have been rendered quite differently. This is not only a theoretical option. At least some votive reliefs show worshippers not only venerating the deity, but actually involved in a ritual performance: taking something from a *kanoun* held by a servant or putting something on the altar (Fig. 8.5).[55] As there are only a very few examples of this kind, however, it is evident that this option did not accord with the wishes and intentions of most donors. In a nutshell: iconographically, praying takes priority over sacrificing. The images may be – but do not have to be – expanded by references to animal sacrifice. These references can be made more or less clear by visual means. Many images do not place much stress on the sacrificial animals. They are a part, but not always a prominent one, of the sacrificial procession.[56]

Iconographical Evidence and Cultic Reality

Finally, I will turn to the complex relation of sacrificial images and sacrificial reality. Most scholars take it for granted that the images on the votive reliefs are neatly correlated with the sacrificial performance: that is, they refer to a sacrificial ritual that actually took place, and one of the donor's main aims is to commemorate this sacrifice by means of the votive.[57] In principle, other explanatory models are conceivable as well. Is it really the purpose of the reliefs to attest that a sacrifice like the one depicted has taken place?[58] Or do they only pretend that it happened, thus

[53] Delphi, AM 1101 + 3815 + 8874: Zagdoun (1977:32–40), nos. 8–9 figs. 21–4; van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 77.

[54] van Straten (1995:60). On Athens, NM 1333 (fig. 8.2), the vessel in the hand of the servant may be identified as a *chernips*: ibid. pp. 64. 276 cat. no. R 8 fig. 59.

[55] Cf. e. g. Athens, NM 1334 (fig. 8.5): van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 9 fig. 64. Athens, NM 1372: ibid., cat. no. R 16; Droste (2001:61, 88), pl. 9 a. Paris, Louvre Ma 756: van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 71 fig. 85. Patras, AM 208: ibid. cat. no. R 34 fig. 71.

[56] Contra Edelmann (1999:144).

[57] Cf. e. g. van Straten (1995:178): 'We may assume that both the sacrificial calendars and the votive reliefs faithfully recorded sacrifices that had actually been made or had to be made.' Cf. also van Straten (2005:18–19): 'If on *my* votive relief I choose to have me and my family depicted while making sacrifice, it is very important to me that *my* sacrificial animal, for which I payed with my own money, should be clearly and recognizably depicted.'

[58] Edelmann (1999:151–2) tries to modify this hypothesis: some votives refer to a sacrifice which had taken place somewhere else than in the actual sanctuary or which was not organised by the donor of the votive alone but only with his participation.

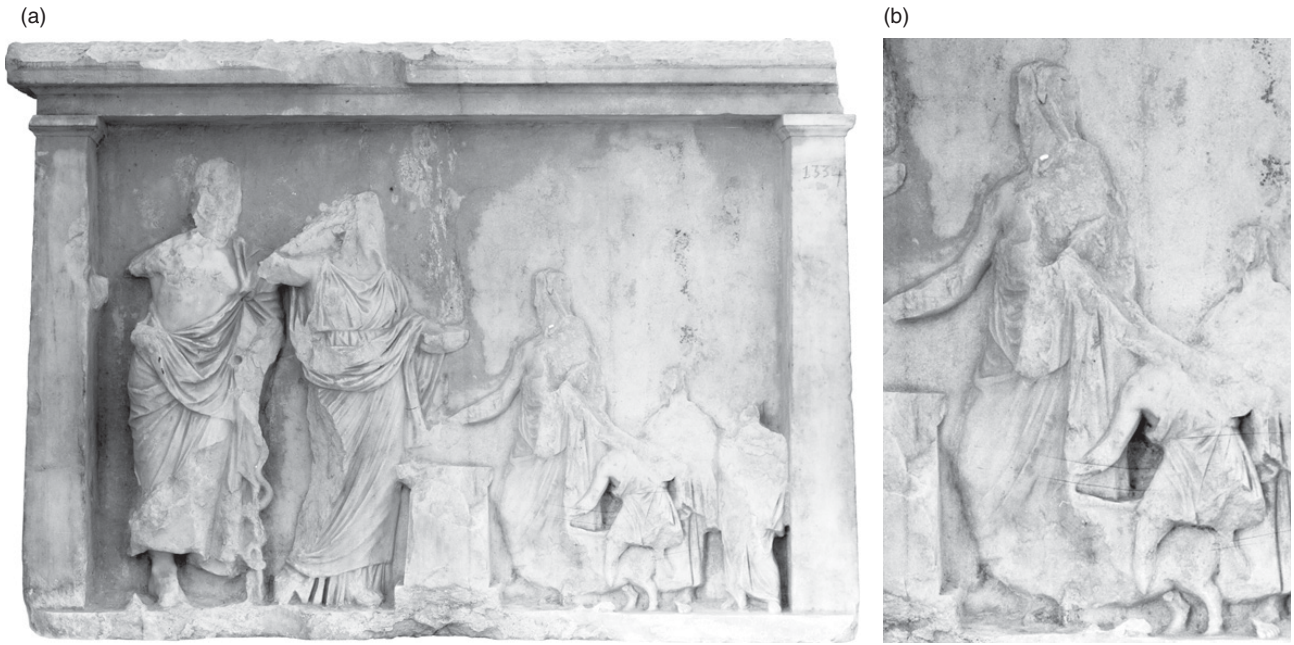


Fig. 8.5. (a) Votive relief to Asclepius and Hygieia, from the Asclepieum in Athens (second half of the fourth century BC). Athens, NM 1334: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Abteilung Athen, Inst. Neg. Athen NM 6343 (photographer: Eleutherios Feiler); (b) Detail of fig. 8.5a.

'upgrading' the offering by visual means? Could we even understand the images in a rather broad sense as using an iconographic formula that only loosely alludes to religious practice?

Such questions are not easily answered, because of gaps in the archaeological data as well as methodological difficulties. On the one hand, we unfortunately do not know any sanctuary where the osteological evidence could be correlated systematically with the pictorial evidence from the same site. On the other hand, of course, images cannot be read literally. They may use schematic, even polysemantic patterns. The choice of motifs is often highly selective, as we have seen. Against this backdrop, we cannot argue with hard facts, but only on the grounds of plausibility.

Let us start with an assumption about the frequency of references to animal sacrifice in the genre. We may suppose that in the context of setting up a votive a sacrifice was made quite often, which makes us ask why sacrificial victims are only depicted on a relatively small number of stelai, in comparison to the total number of votive reliefs. Sacrificial animals were not used as a standard motif, but only on certain votives, when the dedicant wanted, for whatever reason, to refer to this theme. We may also deduce that not every dedicant insisted on depicting the victim, even if he had in fact made a sacrifice. Apparently, the motif was chosen deliberately. What could have prompted this choice?

One possible explanation would be that the motif of the sacrificial animal visually underlines the wealth of the donors. Did the latter perhaps even try to enhance their votives by visual means, independently of the actual ritual performance in the sanctuary? For various reasons, this is not persuasive. As we have already seen, the animals are often only partly visible. If the common focus of the images was on the precious gifts, we should expect these to be presented regularly in a more prominent way. A further issue is the relation between the depiction of sacrificial animals and the price of the votives. It is difficult to define the latter precisely, as there is no direct evidence from the Classical period. If we compare the prices for the document reliefs, we have to take into account that the length of the inscription and the size of the stone was what determined their cost.[59] Bearing these difficulties in mind, one can nevertheless cautiously assume that about 10 *drachmai* had to be paid for a simple votive relief, including the stone as well as the workmanship.[60] In relation to this, the price of the sacrificial victim was

[59] Meyer (1989:19–21). [60] van Straten (1974:184–7); Edelmann (1999:180 n. 1186).

a considerable cost factor for the donor. Even the cheapest adult animal, a sheep of about 10–17 *drachmai*, was roughly as expensive as a modest relief.

Against this background it is striking that the images of sacrificial victims were not used on the more costly votives in particular. On average, the reliefs with images of sacrificial animals have the same format as those without. In both categories, most are wider than 30 cm, and about one-quarter of them are wider than 60 cm. Only the votives representing bovines, the most expensive, and hence most prestigious, sacrificial animals, are notably large and lavish.[61] Obviously their donors must have been quite well-to-do. The prosperous donors in general, however, exhibit no conspicuous preference for votives with cattle. Among the reliefs that stand out in quality and cost, they are a minority. The motif of a sacrificial animal was not obligatory, nor even frequent, on expensive, skilfully decorated reliefs, many of which lack it.[62] If the main purpose of representing sacrificial animals had been to 'upgrade' the votive by visual means, then we should expect them to be depicted more often. They cannot be understood as a simple cypher to be used in any context, merely standing for 'expense' or, in the case of cattle, 'luxury'.

If the depiction of a sacrificial animal does not necessarily mirror the cultic reality, and if it is not used as a mere pictorial formula, what else could be the reasons for it? As we have already seen, there are no correlations with specific sanctuaries or deities. The same can be said about the sex of the donor. Women as well as men offered votive reliefs with references to animal sacrifice.[63] There are fewer of these than in the case of male donors, but in the same proportion as the overall ratio of female to male offerings in general. Only in the case of votive reliefs with cattle can we identify certain patterns.

[61] For above-average large votive reliefs with cattle cf. e. g. Athens, NM 1331: *LIMC* II, (1984:889), no. 386* s. v. Asklepios (Bernard Holtzmann); van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 7 (h.: 67 cm; w.: 99 cm). Brauron, AM 1151: ibid., cat. no. 73 fig. 57 (h.: 58 cm, w.: 102,5 cm). Brauron, AM 1152 (fig. 8.4): ibid., cat. no. R 74 fig. 86 (h.: 59 cm, w.: 114,5 cm). Lamia, AM AE 1041: ibid., cat. no. 75 b fig. 88 (h.: 68 cm, w.: 121 cm). Paris, Louvre Ma 755: ibid., cat. no. R 23 fig. 63 (h.: 49,5 cm, w.: 90 cm).

[62] Cf. e. g. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps 182595: de Angelis d' Ossat (2002:143), with fig. (h.: 62 cm, w.: 151 cm); Rome, Vatican 739: *LIMC* II (1984:873–4), no. 72* s.v. Asklepios (Bernard Holtzmann) (h.: 98 cm, w.: 146 cm).

[63] Cf. e. g. the votive of a certain *–tobole* to Zeus Meilichios, Piraeus, AM Pir 3 (fig. 8.3): van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 44 fig. 75 (pig). Votive of Aristonike to Artemis, Brauron, AM 1151: ibid., cat. no. R 73 fig. 57 (bovine). Votive of Persis to Artemis, Brauron, AM 1152 (fig. 8.4): ibid., cat. no. R 74 fig. 86 (bovine).

'Conspicuous Consumption'?

As mentioned above, images with bovines are dependent on situation. The depiction of a special sacrificial animal is connected with a special event: the presentation of children in a sanctuary. This allows us to draw conclusions about the importance of these occasions for the participants and thus also of the votives that commemorated them. To represent a bovine on a relief is surely meant to 'upgrade', to raise the status of the votive, but it is not simply a matter of choice for the votaries, with no relation at all to the actual ritual performance. Of course we will never know if the votaries really had slaughtered cattle before or in connection with the donation of these votive reliefs. We should not, however, rule this possibility out from the start. Cattle sacrifice was carried out by private individuals, though not so often as by the *polis* and by cultic communities, because of the considerable expense involved.[64] Rituals related to children seem to have provided a grand occasion for celebrations of the *oikos*. At least the more prosperous *oikos* could have made a costly sacrifice at such events. We have votives depicting expensive victims set up in situations where expensive sacrifices took place in reality too. This does not prove that every image necessarily refers to a specific sacrifice of an animal like the one depicted, but it makes it conceivable at least.

The example of cattle also throws light on the relation of sacrificial images and sacrificial reality in other respects. It clearly demonstrates how misleading it can be to make inferences from the image to the reality and it can also warn us against rash generalisations. In ritual practice, cattle were deployed in a wide variety of cults. On the images, cattle are only depicted in connection with a certain range of cults – one more example of the selectivity of the pictorial evidence.

Pigs or Piglets?

As we have already seen, the votive reliefs show a high number of sheep and pigs, but more of the latter. According to van Straten, these images stand for suckling-pigs and adult sheep. He concludes that many votaries, with limited funds, preferred piglets because of their lower price of 3 to 3.5 *drachmai*.[65] His main argument is the evidence of the Attic sacrificial calendars. The sheep listed in the inscriptions were mainly adult animals,

[64] Hausmann (1948:74); Rosivach (1994:68–78, 107–13); van Straten (1995:170–81); Blok (2009:100).
[65] van Straten (1995:177–8).

whereas the pigs were predominantly suckling-pigs. Iconography, however, tells another story. We have already seen that the stonemasons were in principle able to differentiate between piglets and pigs. Nevertheless, this differentiation was not made very often. Is this because it was a convention to use the pictorial motif 'pig' independently of the age of the animals, or because the images represent reality? The answer has far-reaching consequences. If we take the epigraphic evidence more seriously than the images, the latter are to be understood either as mere ciphers or as an attempt to enhance the value of the real offering by visual means, thus making a fat pig out of a cheap piglet. If we take the iconographical evidence seriously, the images refer to real offerings of adult pigs, which means that the donors paid a significant amount of money for them.

Unless we can correlate the osteological with the visual evidence in at least one sanctuary, the question will never be answered unambiguously. Again we can only search for plausibility, not proof. At any rate, we always need clear indications before we can conclude that an image should stand for anything other than what is depicted. In our case, there are no such indications apart from the epigraphic evidence. It is hard to imagine that an especially fleshy specimen with a massive neck like the pig on a votive to the Eleusinian goddesses in the Louvre should be understood as a mere pictorial convention, while in reality the donor offered only a small piglet.[66]

Votive reliefs with images of animal sacrifice were certainly used not only for communication with the divine, but also for self-representation by the dedicant. Competition among donors for social power, prestige and the like should be accepted as a serious motivation for setting up a votive. However, the element of authenticity in the votary's self-fashioning is of fundamental importance in this context. Even if we cannot exclude that a certain donor exaggerated the value of his sacrifice by depicting an adult, expensive animal instead of a young, cheap one, we should not take this as a general rule. The epigraphic and the iconographical evidence differ, but there is no need to force them into agreement, especially as they refer to sacrifices by different agents.

Conclusion

Images of animal sacrifice have often been analysed with regard to cultic reality. However, the relation of sacrificial representations to actual ritual performance is complex. If a sacrificial animal is lacking in the image, the

[66] van Straten (1995), cat. no. R 67 fig. 81.

motif was evidently not of central importance in this context. Still, it cannot be ruled out that the setting up of the votive was connected with a sacrifice in reality. Conversely, if a sacrificial animal is represented in the image, we will never know if the votaries actually did slaughter one before or in connection with the donation of the votive in question. Nevertheless, this is at least plausible, taking into account the specific character of the genre. Votive reliefs are not merely reminders of ritual performances, they are documents of them. Serving as a document in religious communication does not mean that every detail of the ritual performance has to be mirrored in the image. However, it requires that the image not be in a stark contrast to reality, even if it is selective or embellished.

Even if the images did commemorate sacrifices that had actually taken place, they cannot be read literally. The worshippers used the medium of the reliefs in certain contexts to show *that* they made a sacrifice and also *what* they sacrificed, but not *how* they sacrificed. To this extent, the pictorial evidence only allows limited conclusions to be drawn about ritual practice. However, it clearly indicates which elements of this practice were important for the donors' self-representation. Their main aim was not to portray the ritual, but to attest to it. For that purpose, it was necessary to characterise the species of the animal unmistakably, while other details could be neglected. The expenditure for the sacrifice can be stressed by visual means, but this is not a general aim of the votives under discussion. The sacrifice as such was surely not the focus of the actions depicted. As mentioned above, praying takes priority over sacrificing.

The sacral conventions in the sanctuaries were of course relevant for the rendering of the sacrificial animals, but they were not decisive. The aspects that were crucial for the decision on whether a sacrificial animal should be depicted (and if so, which one) were the occasion of the offering and the message that the votaries wished to communicate, to the divine recipients as well as to the contemporary visitors to the sanctuary. On votive reliefs, the reference to animal sacrifice was only one option among many, but it was deployed in a meaningful way. Even if we can only rarely decipher this meaning, we should be aware that the depiction of a sacrificial animal on a votive was neither a mere convention nor a mirror of reality, but a deliberate choice.

CHAPTER 9

Sacrifice in Drama: The Flow of Liquids

Richard Seaford

The normal purpose of Greek animal sacrifice was to eat, while gratifying the deity. But it also occurred in certain contexts for quite different purposes, while nevertheless retaining at least some of the terminology and of the sequence of actions characteristic of the normal sacrifice. That is, it might – at least to some extent – retain its identity (as animal sacrifice) while performing diverse functions in diverse contexts. In these contexts the emotions and associations attaching to basic actions (killing the animal, libations, and so on) are likely to be adapted to the function being performed. I will here explore this phenomenon, concentrating on two kinds of sacrifice (the *oath sacrifice* and the *pre-battle sacrifice*), on the sacrificial actions that involve the *flow of liquid* (water, blood, wine), and on a poetic descriptions of an oath sacrifice – namely the one performed by the seven besiegers of Thebes at Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes* 42–53:

> ἄνδρες γὰρ ἑπτά, θούριοι λοχαγέται,
> ταυροσφαγοῦντες ἐς μελάνδετον σάκος,
> καὶ θιγγάνοντες χερσὶ ταυρείου φόνου,
> Ἄρην Ἐνυὼ καὶ φιλαίματον Φόβον
> ὡρκωμότησαν, ἢ πόλει κατασκαφὰς
> θέντες λαπάξειν ἄστυ Καδμείων βίαι,
> ἢ γῆν θανόντες τήνδε φυράσειν φόνωι·
> μνημεῖά θ' αὑτῶν τοῖς τεκοῦσιν ἐς δόμους
> πρὸς ἅρμ' Ἀδράστου χερσὶν ἔστεφον, δάκρυ
> λείβοντες, οἶκτος δ' οὔτις ἦν διὰ στόμα·
> σιδηρόφρων γὰρ θυμὸς ἀνδρείαι φλέγων
> ἔπνει λεόντων ὣς Ἄρη δεδορκότων.
>
> For seven men, vigorous company-leaders,
> slaughtering a bull into a black-rimmed
> shield, and touching the bull's blood with
> their hands, swore an oath by Ares, Enyo and
> blood-loving Terror, that they would either

> bring destruction on the town of the
> Kadmeians by violence, or die and mix their
> blood with the earth; and with their hands
> they were adorning the chariot of Adrastos
> with memorials for themselves to take home
> to their parents, shedding tears, but there was
> no pity coming through their mouth. For
> there breathed a steel-minded spirit blazing
> with courage, as of lions with the light of
> battle in their eyes.

With these lines the messenger describes what he has seen from the walls of Thebes, shortly before the fighting starts. The sacrifice is of the kind that accompanies an oath. But it also seems to evoke the kind of animal sacrifice that immediately precedes battle. It does so because of the similarities between the oath sacrifice and the pre-battle sacrifice and because the fighting is imminent. It does so also because there is no other Greek instance of an oath sacrifice occurring as preparation for imminent battle. The closest instance (known to me) to such an oath[1] is the one recorded on a fourth-century BC inscription as sworn 'when they were about to fight the barbarians' at Plataia by the Athenians, who then covered the sacrificial victims with their shields.[2] This has generally been regarded as fictitious, for various reasons that include its denouncement as such by Theopompus.[3] Van Wees however argues that it derives from the oath of the ἐνωμοτία, the Spartan small military unit that was bound together by an oath, and that its content fits the historical circumstances of the 'weeks' leading up to the battle of Plataia.[4] Although the oath contains a phrase implying that death is preferable to defeat (as does the *Seven* oath), it may – if authentic – have been sworn at the start of a campaign rather than just before battle. Herodotus' detailed account of the battle includes divinatory sacrifices (9.61–2), but makes no mention of any oath.

[1] The oath mentioned at Hdt. 7.132.2 as sworn by the Greeks did not occur (as Faraone (1993:68 n. 34) states) 'at Thermopylae'. For the oath sacrifice in *Iliad* 3, see below.

[2] Rhodes and Osborne (2003:no.88, 46–51 (=*SEG* 21.519)). The oath is also mentioned (in different wording, and without the shield ritual) in Lycurgus (*Leocr.* 80f.) and Diodorus (11.29.2, located at the Isthmus).

[3] 115 *FrGH* F153. For the case for authenticity, see Siewert (1972).

[4] van Wees (2006:139). On this basis, the promise in the inscribed oath to punish Thebes (a commitment that may have proved impossible to fulfil) has been connected to the promise to destroy Thebes in the *Seven* oath: Torrance (2007:49–50).

There is therefore no reason to suppose that the *Seven* sacrifice reflects normal practice. In this and other respects it is exotic, shaped presumably by Aeschylus' imagination. But this does not mean that the passage reveals nothing about actual practice. We must test the hypothesis that Aeschylus' poetic imagination here (as elsewhere) not only recombines and intensifies actual sacrificial practices but also extends and makes beautiful the emotions and associations attaching to them, and so may reveal something about the subjectivity of animal sacrifice.

I will first set out what the description of the sacrifice has in common with (a) other oath sacrifices, and (b) pre-battle sacrifices.

(a) Firstly, there is physical contact with the slaughtered animal. In Xenophon's *Anabasis* (2.2.9) the Greek expeditionary force has just been abandoned by a contingent of Thracians, and is in great difficulty. It then joins forces with a barbarian army, and seals the oath of alliance by slaughtering various animals over a shield, with the Greeks dipping a sword into the blood and the barbarians a lance. The context differs from the *Seven* oath sacrifice (it is not just before battle, but to strengthen a precarious alliance). But there are striking similarities, in the use of the shield and in that the parties seem united by their physical contact with the same highly charged blood. Such contact may bind even a single party. The Spartan king Demaratus begs his mother to tell the truth (about who his father was) after first putting into her hands entrails (σπλάγχνα) of an ox sacrificed to Zeus.[5]

Secondly, the swearers of oaths sometimes invoke punishment against themselves for any future breach of the oath. For instance, the Greek and Trojan participants in the peace oath in the *Iliad* ask the gods to ensure that whoever first breaks it has their brain spill out 'like this wine',[6] referring to the libation that has followed the slaughter of lambs. In the *Seven* passage φόνος, 'blood', occurs at the end of the verse in both 44 and 48, and this can hardly fail to evoke a familiar kind of idea: 'if I do not keep my oath to destroy the city, then I will pour out my blood like the blood of this animal'.[7]

(b) As for pre-battle sacrifices, opinions differ as to whether they always had a divinatory element.[8] Pritchett makes a good case for there being sacrifices called σφάγια – just before or during the onset of battle – that

[5] Hdt. 6.67–8; other examples of the importance of physical contact (with victim or altar) in the oath: Antiph. 5.12; Andoc. 1.126; Isae. 7.16; Aeschin. 1.114; Dem. 23.68; Lyk. *Leokr.* 20; Ap.Rhod. 2.719.
[6] They and their offspring, and their wives to be booty for others: *Il.* 3.298–301.
[7] This is pointed out by Faraone (1993:67). [8] Clearly divinatory is the sacrifice at *Seven* 378–9.

were often propitiatory rather than divinatory. Jameson however maintains that, at least in the Classical period, in pre-battle sacrifices there was always a divinatory element. But what could be done about bad signs as the enemy bore down on the front line? Signs taken from such sacrifices must have been 'essentially confirmatory'. 'In effect, the σφάγια narrow down to a single action and an observation – the killing of the victim with a stab into the neck and the observing of the flow of blood that results.'[9] A passage (unmentioned by Jameson) that nicely illustrates this conception is Euripides *Heraclidai* 821–2. As soon as it became clear that battle is inevitable,

> ἔσφαζον, οὐκ ἔμελλον, ἀλλ' ἀφίεσαν
> λαιμῶν βοείων[10] εὐθὺς οὔριον φόνον.
> οἱ δ' ἅρματ' εἰσέβαινον. . .
>
> They were slaughtering, they did not delay, but let flow
> immediately the favourable blood of oxen throats.
> Others entered chariots. . ..

The impression given is that the sacrifice – by μάντεις, seers (819) – is ready to be performed, because it has to be performed quickly. What is 'favourable' (οὔριος) is the blood, presumably by being of good colour and flowing strongly.[11]

In such pre-battle sacrifices there is no altar, no cutting up of the victim, and no meal; generally no divine recipient is mentioned, and the language used is generally not θύειν, θῦμα, ἱερά but σφάζειν, σφάγια. In all these respects they resemble oath sacrifices[12] – including the one in *Seven*, which they also resemble in two further respects: their occurrence just before battle (even – at least sometimes – within sight of the enemy),[13] and the centrality of the flow of blood.

This flow of blood may have had a psychological function, as a familiar, controlled, and so reassuring entry into the terrifying and uncontrollable bloodshed on both sides of the battle.[14] In practice, this kind of

[9] Pritchett (1971:109–13); (1979:83–8); Jameson (1991:204–5); other treatments of pre-battle sacrifices are Parker (2000) and Lonis (1979:95–115).

[10] The textual problem (βροτείων L; βοείων Helbig) decides the nature of the sacrifice (human or animal), but does not affect my point.

[11] See below on Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*.

[12] Ekroth (2002:252). The deities invoked by oaths are not necessarily the recipients of any accompanying sacrifice.

[13] Pritchett (1979:84).

[14] Burkert (1985:60): 'The quasi-harmless and manageable slaughter is a premonitory anticipation of the battle and its unforeseeable dangers.'

reinforcement may have merged into the reassurance provided by the 'favourable' quality of the blood. True, this latter reassurance is indirect (through interpretation) whereas the former is direct. But the onset of battle was not a time for careful divinatory inspection. The word οὔριος in our *Heracleidai* passage seems to do more than merely indicate the significance of the signs (the flow and colour of the blood). The adjective οὔριος is from the noun οὖρος, which means favourable *wind*. It seems to endow the blood itself with invisible (wind-like) power to move the troops forward into battle. A similar effect is obtained by the application of οὔριος in Euripides' *Helen* both to the sacrificial blood that spurts into the waves (1588) to accompany the prayer for escape over the sea *and* (1612, 1663) to the wind that then arises to move the ship forward.

Such a reassuring function is suggested also by the pre-battle actions of the Spartan army. Xenophon mentions the sacrifice of a she-goat, the playing of pipes, the wearing of crowns, and the combing of hair (*Rep. Lac.* 13.8). Plutarch mentions the she-goat sacrifice, pipers playing the Kastor song, and the paian accompanying advance. 'The sight is solemn and at the same time formidable', with the soldiers being 'led into the danger gently and cheerfully (πρᾴως καὶ ἱλαρῶς) by the song. For it is to be expected that people in this state have neither excessive fear nor excessive anger, but a stable mind with hope and courage as the god being present' (*Lyc.* 22.2–3). The seven participants in the *Seven* oath sacrifice are left – despite their fore-knowledge of their demise – with 'steel-minded' determination (50–3).

The Athenian ephebic oath promises solidarity in battle ('nor will I leave the man next to me'). In *Seven* solidarity seems implicit in the collective touching of the blood. Now physical contact with liquid seems to have been imagined as an agent of solidarity in animal sacrifice in general. Klutaimestra invites Kassandra indoors

> ἐπεί σ' ἔθηκε Ζεὺς ἀμηνίτως δόμοις
> κοινωνὸν εἶναι χερνίβων, πολλῶν μετὰ
> δούλων σταθεῖσαν κτησίου βωμοῦ πέλας.
>
> since Zeus has without anger made you to
> share with the house the lustral water,
> standing with many slaves at the household altar.[15]

As part of the preparation for animal sacrifice, lustral water (χέρνιψ, plural χέρνιβες) was sprinkled onto participants, altar, and victim, and the

[15] Aesch. *Ag.* 1037–8; cf. Eur. *El.* 792.

participants also washed their hands with it (χερνίπτεσθαι).[16] The Furies ask 'what χέρνιψ φρατέρων will receive him?' (the matricide Orestes): belonging to a phratry is expressed as participation in the χέρνιψ. Oedipus proclaims that nobody should make the murderer of Laios participant (κοινός) in prayers and sacrifices, nor distribute to him the χέρνιψ.[17] To sprinkle the altars 'from a single χέρνιψ' is to be like kinsmen.[18]

Kassandra will participate in the χέρνιβες ostensibly as bystander but in fact as victim (both were sprinkled). The same ambivalence occurs in the description of the χέρνιβες in the impending sacrifice of Orestes as 'bloody' (E. *IT* 644–5): the sacrificial liquids merge. In the *Seven* sacrifice the solidarity of collective contact with the χέρνιβες has been transferred to the *blood*. With the warriors 'touching the blood' (θιγγάνοντες.. /. φόνου) compare the same verb – also of *participation* but in the χέρνιβες – in the reproach of Menelaos to Orestes εὖ γοῦν θίγοις ἂν χερνίβων.[19] In Euripides' *Cyclops* the chorus-leader of the satyrs expresses the desire to take hold of the torch that will be plunged into Polyphemos' eye: 'for I wish to participate in this φόνος': just as in the sacrifice a burning torch was plunged into the χέρνιβες so as to sprinkle it on bystanders etc.,[20] so a burning torch will be plunged into Polyphemos' eye and then withdrawn covered in blood.[21] Participation in φόνος[22] as 'killing' suits the sacrificial image[23] though not the blinding, but it suits the blinding by virtue of its meaning 'blood'. Here too then (active) participation in the χέρνιβες merges with participation in blood.

In the *Seven* sacrifice it is as if a basic action of the normal sacrifice (collective touching of liquid) has persisted into an abnormal context and function (pre-battle oath-sacrifice), with blood rather than water. The ease with which we have seen the imagination may replace one sacrificial liquid with another – in *IT, Cyclops*, and *Seven* – occurs also elsewhere. For instance the Molossians, in their oaths, [24] cut up an ox into small pieces and prayed that the transgressors be cut up in this way, and they poured out wine and prayed that the blood of the transgressors be poured out in this way.

[16] Eitrem (1915:76–80); Stengel (1920:109–10); Nilsson (1967:148–9).
[17] Aesch. *Eum*. 656; Soph. *OT* 239–40. [18] Ar. *Lys*. 1129–30.
[19] Eur. *Or*. 1602; cf. *TGF 2* (*Adespota*). 619.7 χέρνιβος θιγών; also Dio Chrys. 34(17).34 'those who touch (θιγγάνοντες) the libation (σπονδή)'; Aeschin. 2.84.
[20] See n. 16 above. [21] More detail in Seaford (1984) ad Eur. *Cyc*. 469–71.
[22] We should not emend to πόνου (Nauck): see Seaford (1984) ad Eur. *Cyc*. 471.
[23] Cf. also the phrase κοινωνεῖν φόνου at Eur. *Andr*. 915, *El*. 1048, *Or*. 1591. [24] *CPG* I 225–6.

Similarly, during the libation of wine that follows the oath sacrifice, the Greeks and Trojans pray to Zeus that the brains of whoever transgresses the oath 'flow to the ground like this wine' (*Iliad* 3.300). However, in the prayer to Zeus that has just accompanied the sacrifice of lambs, there is no wish that the transgressors should suffer the fate of the lambs. This is surprising, because the vocabulary used of the death of the lambs is paralleled in Homer only in descriptions of the death of warriors.[25] Faraone (1993) adds more detail, and concludes that the oral poet 'has streamlined his description of the ceremony by leaving out the explicit curse'. Faraone also emphasises the importance of the detailed description of this oath to the overall narrative. But why then the streamlining? Perhaps because the purpose of this oath is to *avoid* battle.[26] In the pre-battle σφάγια the animal slaughter initiated the human slaughter. To make explicit the link between them may have seemed undesirable in the context of a ritual that aims at avoiding battle.

The normal animal sacrifice contains the flow of three liquids: water (χέρνιβες), blood, and wine (generally poured over the altar fire). Although imaginable – as we have seen – in terms of each other, they involve quite different emotions and associations. The spurt of blood is shocking and in a sense uncontrollable, but controlled in that it is collected in a bowl. Antithetically, the pouring of the wine, like libations generally, is entirely controlled but irretrievable. It is this irretrievability that makes Burkert call libation 'serene wastefulness' and 'the purest and highest form of renunciation'.[27] As for the water, it is a medium of solidarity, and its ritual pouring is also controlled.

What are the emotions and associations attaching to these actions? The bloodshed, despite its controlled collection, must always have created some anxiety.

In the normal sacrifice the anxiety is soon overcome by the familiar procedures of carving and cooking and the good cheer of the feast. In the oath sacrifice there is no meal, and the anxiety may be required to *persist* in order to deter transgression. In the pre-battle σφάγια too there is no meal, but the anxiety functions as a controlled entry into the greater anxiety of uncontrollable fighting.

Solidarity, which in the normal sacrifice is achieved in part through physical contact with liquid (χέρνιβες), becomes the central aim of the oath

[25] Notably 293 ἀσπαίροντας and 294 θυμοῦ δευομένοιο: see Kirk (1985:307).
[26] By ensuring that the differences between the two sides are to be decided instead by single combat.
[27] Burkert (1985:72).

sacrifice, in which it may be achieved through physical contact with the victim, and in some (real or imagined) cases through libations (or drinking, or both) of its blood mixed with wine.[28]

The *Seven* oath sacrifice, being also in a sense a pre-battle sacrifice, is rather different. Whereas the oath sacrifice may enhance and perpetuate the anxiety attaching to the killing, the pre-battle sacrifice by contrast controls it. In *Seven* the blood flows, as in a normal sacrifice, into a container (normally a bowl, here a shield), where however it performs the unifying function of the χέρνιβες. The feeling produced by this unusual combination is of anxiety absorbed into highly controlled solidarity. But then there is mention of pouring blood on the ground, 'mixing blood with this earth' (48), as what will happen if they do not keep their oath to destroy Thebes. While in physical contact with the controlled pouring of animal blood they invoke the uncontrolled pouring of their own blood.

In this way the anomaly of an oath sacrifice just before battle seems to produce the opposed emotions of confidence and anxiety. Normally the link between pre-battle animal blood and the human blood of battle may provide a reassuring sense of control; but here, with the warriors invoking the pouring of their own blood, it seems to anticipate that pouring, as if the warriors are doomed. And sure enough, they go on to weep, while decorating the chariot of Adrastos with 'memorials' of themselves to return home to their parents.[29] The scholiast states that Amphiaraos had prophesied to them that only Adrastos will be saved. Amphiaraos foresees his own death (587–8). The performance of death ritual for the living occurs elsewhere in tragedy.[30] Here there is the further twist that the weeping is described as 'pouring' (λείβοντες), a word used frequently of libations. In this context of animal sacrifice, the weeping takes the place of – and so seems assimilated to – the libation that generally follows the killing of the animal. The assimilation is served by the soundlessness of the weeping.[31]

The assimilation of weeping to the libation occurs elsewhere in Aeschylus. Electra says that when her father was being dishonourably buried, in

[28] Hdt. 3.11; 4.70; Pl. *Critias* 119e–120a; Diod. Sic. 22.5; *Syll.* 736.2.

[29] The scholiast on this word identifies the lock of hair as one of the memorials sent by soldiers to their relatives. A lock of hair was sent by the dying Parthenopaios (one of the *Seven*) in Stat. *Theb.* 9.900–1. A series of Attic vase-paintings (contemporary with and not long before *Seven*) shows the Seven preparing for battle: Tiverios (1981). They are similar to what Aeschylus describes here, because Parthenopaios is (*pace* Tiverios) using the sword to *cut* (not comb) his hair, and the chariot may well belong to Adrastos.

[30] In Aesch. *Ag.* 1322–3; Soph. *Ant.* 806ff; Eur. *Ba.* 857–9; see further Seaford (1984); *Il.* 6.500.

[31] This is not to say that the warriors' lack of self-pity has no military function: cf. Eteokles' rejection of lamentation at 182–6, 242–3, 279–80.

confinement she brought up λίβη (from λείβω, pour) of tears and poured (χέουσα) her 'many-teared lament' (*Cho*. 447–8). This evokes the libations that she was prevented from giving him then and is giving him now.[32] The chorus urge that, while the libations are being poured (156), there be sent forth 'a tear perished for a perished lord' δάκρυ.. ὀλόμενον ὀλομένωι δεσπόται' (152–3). The point of this is that, in the words of Garvie, 'the tear, like the libations themselves, is to perish and be drunk up by the earth (cf. 164), as earlier the blood of Agamemnon had been drunk (66)'.[33] We may add that the perishing of the tear corresponds with the emphasised *irrevocability* of the pouring of the blood of Agamemnon into the ground (*Ag*. 1019–21, *Cho*. 48). The Furies state that the blood of Klutaimestra is 'hard to bring up', and then *generalise*: 'liquid (τὸ διερόν) poured into the ground is gone' (*Eum*. 262–3). Finally, that the libations sent by Klutaimestra might be thought equivalent (as recompense) to Agamemnon's blood is implied by its denial by Orestes: 'the gifts are less than the offence: someone having poured out all things (i.e. as a libation) in exchange for the blood of one man – the labour is in vain' (520–1). To conclude this paragraph, we find in the *Oresteia* a coherent set of allusions to the assimilation of the pouring of libations, of tears, and of blood.

The animal sacrifice can be divided into three phases: a set of preparatory actions, the killing of the animal(s), and the subsequent actions with carving and eating at their centre. The first phase is concerned with the marking out of the place, of the human group, and of the victim(s); and the 'horror' of the second phase 'is transformed into pleasure' in the communal meal of the third. In each phase liquid is poured – respectively χέρνιβες, blood, and libation (generally of wine onto the fire). But each pouring is associated with a different mood, the χέρνιβες with the serene solidarity of the group, the blood with anxiety, and the libation with the restoration of serenity. Occurring as they do in ritual, all three flows are subject to control. 'The blood flowing out is treated with special care. It may not spill on the ground.'[34] Though the water and wine are once poured irretrievable, with the frightening flow of the blood it is also life that is irretrievably lost.

The conception of any one of these sacrificial pourings may have been affected by the others, despite (or even because of) the difference of the emotions attaching to them. When the Molossians, or the oath participants

[32] χέουσα used of the libations at 87, 109, and 129, χοάς at 87, 149, 156, 164, 514, 525, 538. λείβειν of libations: Su. 981; cf. *Cho*. 292, *fr*. 55, *Eum*. 54.

[33] It must be admitted however that the text of 152–3 is suspect: West (1990:236–7).

[34] Burkert (1983:5), with source references.

in *Iliad* 3, require the blood or brains of the transgressor to be spilled like the libation, this is surely more than a simile: the implication is that the controlled and yet irretrievable outpouring (in the sight of the invoked deity) has – on a principle well known from sympathetic magic[35] – some unspecified causal link with the desired outpouring of the blood or brains of the transgressor. Similar is Jameson's characterisation of the pre-battle σφάγια as 'an act and a wish: "We kill. May we kill."'[36] In other words, sacrificial ritual may be imagined as influencing events (as well as being influenced by them[37]).

In *Seven* poured water and the libation are replaced by poured blood and poured tears, with the result that such pourings seem – up to a point – to be assimilated to each other. As a result, the emotions of the normal sacrificial pourings (of solidarity, anxiety, control, and irretrievable renunciation) may in *Seven* seem to migrate from one kind of pouring to another. The anxiety at bloodshed is

(a) absorbed into the controlled solidarity of its being poured into the shield (the controlled collection of the blood occurs in the normal sacrifice, but the solidarity is normally provided by water);
(b) then renewed by imagining the uncontrolled pouring of human blood into the earth, which implies the equally irrevocable (but controlled and harmless) renunciation characteristic of the irretrievable pouring of libations;
(c) finally re-absorbed by the pouring of tears, which – though as irretrievable as the death they are caused by – here share in the serene renunciation of the libation to which in the sacrificial sequence they correspond.

In this movement – from the controlled pouring of blood to the uncontrolled pouring of blood and then to the controlled pouring of tears – the control and solidarity of the first phase re-appears in the self-control and implied solidarity of the third.

Another instance of the assimilation of various flowing liquids to each other in the sacrifice is the oath sacrifice performed by the women in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* to cement their alliance. Moreover, and despite the two sacrifices being in mood and in various details very different, Lysistrata explicitly models a feature of her sacrifice on the one in *Seven* (188–9).

[35] See further Faraone (1993). [36] Jameson (1991:221).
[37] e.g. Soph. *Ant.* 1005–11; Eur. *Phoen.* 1257–8.

There is in the description of the sacrifice a series of sexual double entendres, which are for the most part ignored by the commentators.[38] They are as follows.

186. The τόμια requested by Lysistrata are used only in oath sacrifices, and are usually the victim's testicles.[39]

192. It is suggested that a white horse be used as a τόμιον. Henderson (1987) calls 'the likeliest explanation' the presence of a Skythian woman (184), for Scythians sacrificed white horses. This may well be relevant, but is insufficient. An explanation offered by the scholiast of the white horse, that it is a double entendre for penis, is called by Henderson in his commentary far-fetched. Hesychius (i 845) refers ἵππος to the genitals of both sexes, and Henderson himself in his *The Maculate Muse*[40] provides plenty of evidence for the erotic associations of the horse (including the female genitals).

196–7. Lysistrata suggests that 'sheep-slaughtering a jar of Thasian wine we swear not to pour water into the cup'. Here Sommerstein in his commentary recognises that 'the "cup" is the vagina'[41] . . . and the "water" its lubrication produced before and during intercourse (called 'dew', in *Knights* 1285)'.

200–3. MURRHINE: Dearest women, what a big piece of pottery.
KALONIKE: One would enjoy taking hold of this forthwith.
LYSISTRATA: Put this down and join me in taking hold of (προσλαβοῦ) the boar.

Each of these lines has a sexual double entendre. As elsewhere in the scene (e.g. 216), the lasciviousness of the women undercuts their own intention to abstain from sex. After the mentions of sheep (188) and horse (192), we now have a boar, κάπρος. In Aristotle the verb καπρᾶν refers to the sow wanting the boar (*Hist. an.* 572b24), and in comedy καπρᾶν and κάπραινα express human female sexual appetite.[42] Προσλαβοῦ expresses the collective physical contact with the animal that we have seen as an ingredient of the oath, and one of the three other occurrences of this verb in

[38] Most recently Henderson (1987) and Sommerstein (1990). A comic passage describing offerings (to Aphrodite et al.) with numerous obscenities is Plato Com. *Phaon fr.* 188 *PCG*; see also Henderson (1991:177–8).
[39] Stengel (1914); (1924:319–21); Burkert (1983:36; and cf. 68–9). But this is not uncontroversial: Faraone (1993:68 n.37).
[40] Henderson (1991:126–7 (cf. 248), 165).
[41] He refers to *Eccl.* 847 and 996 (see his commentary). Cf. E. *Med.* 679.
[42] Ar. *Plut.* 1024; Hermipp. *fr.* 9, Pherecr. *fr.* 186; Phryn. *fr.* 34.

Aristophanes is of Dikaiopolis' request to the girls to grasp his penis (*Ach.* 1217).

204–6. LYSISTRATA: Mistress Persuasion (Πειθώ) and loving (φιλοτησία) cup, receive the σφάγια with good will for the women.
KALONIKE: Of good colour is the blood and it spurts out (ἀποπυτίζει) nicely.

Πειθώ 'was a divinity whose province was the alluring power of sexual love',[43] and φιλοτήσιος in its only occurrence in Homer refers to sex (*Od.* 11.246). The comment of Kalonike contains precisely what we earlier supposed was 'favourable' about sacrificial blood, good colour and a nice flow. But ἀποπυτίζει completes the series of double entendres by evoking ejaculation.

This last point may seem unlikely, unless we take note of the tragic *topos* in which the outpouring of blood evokes ejaculation. This occurs in Sophocles' *Antigone* and *Oedipus Tyrannus*, but the instance most relevant to our theme is from Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*. Klutaimestra proclaims that Agamemnon (1388–92)

> sets in motion[44] his spirit as he lies there, and panting out a sharp eruption[45] of blood, he strikes me with a dark shower of gory liquid;[46] and I rejoiced no less than the sown crop rejoices in the Zeus-given γάνος (invigorating brightness, of rain) when the sheath is giving birth to the ear.

That there is an erotic meaning to this I have argued elsewhere.[47] Here my emphasis is on the immediately preceding lines, in which Klutaimestra describes her third blow as the third libation[48] for Zeus beneath the earth.[49]

[43] Buxton (1982:31), who goes on to provide much evidence for this claim, as well as for 'wider associations'.

[44] ὁρμαίνει (mss.); the emendation ὀρυγάνει 'belch out' has been widely accepted (though see Thomson (1966) on this passage) because the erotic meaning has been universally missed. The satyrs at A. *Dikt.* 823 γά]μον ὁρμαίνωμεν are referring to sex, as they make clear in the following lines.

[45] σφάγην (mss) is problematic. Read ῥαγὴν (dubitanter Fraenkel 1950), which does in fact cohere with the erotic meaning missed by Fraenkel: cf. S. *OT* 1278 ἔρρωγεν; West (1981:68).

[46] δρόσος, which can refer to various kinds of liquid, including semen – if correctly restored at Callimachus fr. 260.19 Pfeiffer = fr.70.4 Hollis (1990); Hollis is much less confident than Pfeiffer about the supplement. It refers to some form of sexual liquid at Ar. *Nub.* 978 (see Dover on this passage), *Eq.* 1285.

[47] Seaford (1987:121). For a wide-ranging account of sexuality in sacrificial ritual, see Burkert (1983:58–72).

[48] Also 1395 ἐπισπένδειν νεκρῶι.

[49] For this practice, see Aesch. *fr.*55; schol. Pind. *Isthm.* 6.10a; Schol. Pl. *Phil.* 66d; Pollux *Onom.* 6.15; Thomson (1966) on Aesch. *Ag.* 246–7 and *Eum.* 759–60.

Elsewhere in the play the killing of Agamemnon is described as a sacrifice.[50] Here the imagined libation is inevitably associated with the outpouring of blood, which is itself assimilated to fertilising rain and semen. Elsewhere in tragedy fertilising rain is associated with semen (Aesch. *fr.* 44) and indeed with blood and semen (Aesch. *Seven* 929–41 and S. *OT* 1275–81).

[50] 1118, 1443, 1504; cf. 1037–8, 1056–7, 1278, 1298, 1310.

PART IV

Margins

CHAPTER 10

Animal Sacrifice in Hittite Anatolia

Alice Mouton

Concerning sacrifice in ancient Mesopotamia, Wilfred G. Lambert wrote in 1993: 'Like "fertility" [the term "sacrifice"] is so loaded and ambiguous a term that it is best not to use it. In modern usage "sacrifice" is too dependent on Biblical institutions and concepts to be a suitable vehicle to express ancient Mesopotamian practices.'[1] This thought echoes that of Marcel Detienne in the famous book *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec*.[2] Although it is essential, from a methodological point of view, to do and then to undo conceptual models in order to make them more accurate,[3] I do not think that it is necessary to permanently remove the term 'sacrifice' from the Near Eastern scholar's vocabulary. I believe that establishing a preliminary definition of this word will be sufficient to render it an efficient tool.

For the definition of sacrifice that I will presuppose for the study of the Hittite sources, I will first refer to Alfred Marx's contribution to the book *La cuisine et l'autel*.[4] According to this author, sacrifice is essentially an offering which can be split into three successive steps: (1) a 'negative phase of the gift' ('phase négative du don') corresponding to renouncement of property from the person for whose benefit the ritual is conducted (Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss's[5] 'sacrifiant', referred to in Hittite texts as 'the lord of the ritual' to designate the person who commissions the ritual); (2) destruction or at least alteration of the offering. In the case of animal sacrifice, this phase is represented by the killing of the sacrificial victim. The killing renders this renouncement permanent; (3) a 'positive phase of

[1] Lambert (1993: 191).

[2] Detienne (1989: 20 (= id.1979:35)): 'the notion of sacrifice is indeed a category of thought of yesterday, conceived of as arbitrarily as totemism – decried earlier by Lévi-Strauss – both because it gathers into one artificial type elements taken from here and there in the symbolic fabric of societies, and because it reveals the surprising power of annexation that Christianity still subtly exercises on the thought of these historians and sociologists who were convinced they were inventing a new science'.

[3] *Pace* Grottanelli (1988). [4] Marx (2005: 6). [5] Hubert and Mauss (1899).

the gift' ('phase positive du don'), namely transmission of the property to a divine recipient.[6] So sacrifice can be distinguished from ritual killing by its character of gift to a deity. We shall specify that, in Hittite Anatolia, this definition actually includes some substitution rituals described in the texts, as during these rituals the animal substitute is explicitly offered to a deity.

During each sacrifice, there are four key participants ('actants', as Louis Marie Chauvet[7] puts it): (1) the person for whom the sacrifice is performed ('sacrifiant') who is designated in the Hittite sources by the expression 'lord of the ritual' for the probable meaning of 'sacrifice sponsor'.[8] During cultic festivals and even during most of the so-called 'magical' or healing rituals, this person is the Hittite king; (2) the person who actually performs the sacrifice ('sacrificateur'). In the Hittite world, this person is a ritual expert who is the intermediary between the ritual sponsor and the deity; (3) the sacrificed object that should belong to the ritual sponsor; and (4) the recipient of the sacrifice who is generally a deity or a royal ancestor in the Hittite context.

Although many hittitological publications have explored some aspects of Hittite sacrifice, no systematic analysis of the whole Hittite material has been made.[9] I am working on writing that synthesis, and I still have a lot to do to complete my task. No synthesis has been undertaken because the philological work, namely transliteration and translation of the texts, is not yet finished. Secondly, a selection of texts should be made in order to study Hittite sacrifice because the whole corpus is much too big to be studied in its entirety, at least in one lifetime. This chapter is intended as a preliminary contribution on Hittite sacrifice, on the basis of my study of more than seventy texts in context, which can be regarded as a representative sample. These texts are mainly ritual prescriptions and festival texts found in the Hittite capital city, Hattuša. They date from the sixteenth to the end of the thirteenth century BC and are in the shape of clay tablets written in cuneiform writing. These tablets were stored in temple libraries and palatial archives of the Hittite capital city. One should note that in Hittite Anatolia, animal sacrifice basically occurs in every ritual context we can think of: purification, exorcism, or any other curative ritual context, but also cultic contexts such as state festivals. It is actually quite rare to find

[6] As far as I know, there is no Hittite textual evidence of the ritualized process of slaughter, contrary to what Detienne (1989) and Durand (1989a) mentioned for ancient Greece.

[7] Chauvet (1994: 280–4).

[8] On this expression, see del Monte (1973: 172–3).

[9] The still unpublished doctoral dissertation of Billie Jean Collins (Collins (1989)) fills part of this gap. See also Kühne (1993). Finally, one may refer to McMahon (2003), who tests René Girard's (Girard (1972)) theories of the violent origin of sacrifice on the Hittite sources.

a Hittite ritual text without an animal sacrifice being performed. All the stages of the sacrificial process are never described in detail in the Hittite texts. The phases which are referred to, although most of the time very briefly, are: (1) the consecration of the animal, which is performed by purification and dedication of the animal to the god; (2) the ritual slaughter, which is never very much emphasized in the Hittite texts; (3) the dismemberment of the body of the animal corpse: this is also not well attested in the texts, usually being mentioned in a single sentence without any detail; (4) if relevant, the cooking of the sacrificial meat cuts: the cooking technique seems to depend on the nature of the meat cut, and in some places, the meat might remain raw; (5) the placement of the meat cuts on the divine table: this stage is sometimes the only one mentioned by the texts. It clearly is the most important phase of Hittite animal sacrifice, which shows that the offering of the sacrificial meat is the main issue in the eyes of the Hittites; (6) human consumption of the divine leftovers. As a hittitologist, I hope that this description of Hittite practices will broaden the horizons in the study of Greek religion, as each culture should not be studied in isolation.

As the Africanist Jean Pouillon noticed,[10] one should wonder whether the word 'sacrifice' has an exact equivalent in the vernacular language that we study. In the case of Hittite language, the most frequently utilized term in clear connection with sacrifice is not a noun but a verb. It is the verb *šipant-* whose filiation with Greek *spendô* has been noticed since the very beginning of hittitology. *šipant-* first means 'to pour (a liquid) as a libation'. When it is used in the context of animal sacrifice, it may also designate the action of making the animal's blood flow down.[11] This observation is quite interesting when we consider that the action of cutting the animal's throat and collecting its blood is only seldom described in the Hittite texts.[12] In my view, this can be explained by the fact that the experts, for whom the ritual prescriptions were originally written down, did not need to read all the details about the way of killing the animal. I believe this part of the ritual did not even need to be mentioned in the texts because it was obvious and very well known by the practitioners or butchers in charge of it. In some cases, however, the way to treat the animal's blood was specified.

[10] Pouillon (1987: 233).

[11] It seems that the meaning of Hittite *šipant-* is analogous to the Akkadian verb *naqūm* 'to sacrifice' which also means in the first place 'to pour, to pour a libation': see Lambert (1993: 195) who sees – mistakenly, in my opinion – in the use of *naqūm* a metaphoric meaning whenever it designated animal sacrifice. On the connotations of *šipant-*, see also Lebrun (1993: 226).

[12] See Kühne (1986).

One should sometimes let the blood flow down on the floor.[13] In other cases, on the contrary, the blood is collected in a vessel.[14]

The second important concept in Hittite sacrifice seems to be the 'gift giving' notion. Beside its meaning 'to pour a libation, to pour the sacrificial animal's blood', the Hittite verb *šipant-* can also designate the action of 'dedicating, making an offering'.[15] This is clear from the texts in which the use of this verb precedes the actual killing of the victim. In these contexts, killing is usually designated by the verbs *ku(e)n-* 'to kill', *hu(e)k-* 'to slaughter,' or *hatt(a)-* 'to slit the throat(?)'. So it seems that, in Hittite Anatolia, animal sacrifice should be inserted into the broader ensemble of food offerings. A semantic distinction between 'sacrifice' and 'offering' does not seem necessary in this context. The key gesture of Hittite animal sacrifice is clearly the placement of the sacrificial meat cuts on the divine table. The texts do not specify how the Hittites believed their gods were eating these food offerings, but I believe that their placement on the divine table was viewed as a gesture symbolizing the divine consumption in itself. The meat cuts might have stayed overnight on the table and then at least part of them might have been eaten by the human participants in the ceremony the day after.

In this overview of Hittite sacrificial practices, I will deal with the following questions: (1) Which animal species are sacrificed?; (2) What are the cuts of sacrificial meat and how are they treated?; and (3) In which contexts does sacrifice take place?

But before that, I shall briefly explain how we understand Hittite Anatolia. According to linguistic testimony, the cultural spheres comprised in this entity are: (1) the Hattian area, which was the heartland of the Hittite kingdom, where the main capital, Hattuša was located. Hattic is not an Indo-European language, maybe belonging to the group of Caucasic languages; (2) the region of Kaneš/Neša, the city which gave its name to the Hittite language (called nešili in the texts); (3) the Luwian area. Luwian is an Indo-European language closely related to Hittite; (4) the Hurrian sphere, mainly located in Syria, comprises southern Anatolia. Hurrian is an agglutinating language related, according to linguists, to Caucasic languages; (5) Kizzuwatna, which partly belongs to the Hurrian cultural sphere, while the other part was inhabited by a Luwian-speaking population. This region is the main zone through which Syro-Mesopotamian cultural patterns reached Hittite Anatolia; (6) Pala, which had its own Indo-European language called Palaic; and

[13] Mouton (2004c: n°9). [14] Kühne (1986: 95–6). [15] Kühne (1986: 86 n. 2).

(7) northern Anatolia, which was inhabited by semi-nomadic people called Gašgas. Their language is still unknown.

Since the sacrificial traditions belonging to Nešili, Palaic, and Gašga regions are very little documented, if at all, we are obliged to focus only on the other regions I have mentioned. The Luwian sphere is clearly the closest to ancient Greece culturally speaking. It shares several important features with it: the importance of augury and the ritual use of adorned scapegoats, for instance.

Which Animal Species Were Sacrificed?

In his huge synthesis on Hittite religion, Volkert Haas enumerates the animal species that were sacrificed according to the texts (the list is organized from the most frequent to the least frequent):[16] ovidae, capridae, bovidae, pig, dog, certain birds, fish, donkeys, and horses (in purification rituals or during the royal funerary ritual).[17] The ritualized use of wild animals is less frequent.[18] He also mentions gazelle, deer (in ritualized hunting),[19] bear, wild boar, leopard, hare, snake, and a kind of mouse (as a ritual substitute and more specifically as a 'scapegoat', but also as a food offering in the same ritual).[20]

Some of these animals clearly stand for food offerings whereas others were rather ritual substitutes and were not obligatorily eaten by the gods. However, the distinction between food offering and substitute is not always very big: some substitutes are killed and offered to the gods in order to be – at least symbolically – eaten by them.[21] Furthermore, we shall imagine that the choice of animal species is probably made according to the local tradition on the one hand and to the ritual context on the other. Finally, I must specify that, in ancient Anatolia, the ritual killing of wild animals does not correspond to what I call 'sacrifice' because they do not

[16] Mentions of these animals have been listed in Ertem (1965) and then in Akdoğan (1990) and Akdoğan (1993). See also Haas (1994: 646–9).

[17] Collins (2002: 323 (with bibliography)). See also Lebrun (1993: 230–1).

[18] As I could not obtain Billie Jean Collins's unpublished doctoral dissertation (1989), which precisely deals with the Hittite references to wild animals, I will not develop this aspect of animal sacrifice here.

[19] There are good reasons to believe that the cultic festivals during which a ritualized hunt takes place belong to the Hattian substrate. But this practice coexists with animal sacrifice. See Grottanelli (1988: 18).

[20] Collins (2002: 324–5) (with bibliography). Concerning the double use of this animal as substitute and food offering, see also Christiansen (2006: 151).

[21] Mouton (2004b: 93, end of n, 29).

belong to the 'sacrifiant'. Therefore, I will not deal with them in this chapter.

Ovidae are the most frequent sacrificial victims throughout Hittite Anatolia, probably because of their low cost compared to bovidae and the better quality of their meat compared to capridae.[22] Capridae and bovidae are the 'second rank' sacrificial animals on the basis of frequency. Dogs and pigs are usually substitutes. Sacrificing birds seems to be a southern pattern (Kizzuwatna and Syria).[23] Birds, which are usually burned, seem to be, at least in most of the cases, related to propitiation or even expiation rituals. The complete burning out of a sacrificial animal is frequently mentioned in Kizzuwatnian rituals,[24] but it also occurs here and there in other Anatolian regions, such as the Hittite heartland. A sequence of a religious ceremony in honour of the Stormgod of Zippalanda is an illustration of this statement: 'The ritual sponsor dedicates a bull and a billy goat to the Stormgod of Zippalanda. They burn them entirely according to the way of Hattuša.'[25] Finally, as far as fish is concerned, it seems to be also related to the Kizzuwatnian sphere, where it is sacrificed during purification rituals.[26]

As a general rule, the animal should be in good physical condition, as a passage of the 'Instructions to the Temple Personnel' shows:[27]

> Furthermore, if, at some point, you select a group [among the cattle] and if they drive them to the gods, your lords, the cowherd and the shepherd must go together with the group. As it [= this selected group] was selected from the pen and the fold, thus let them bring it to the gods. Let them not divert their use/function afterward. If, while on the road, a cowherd or a shepherd creates a deception, and turns aside either a fattened ox or a fattened sheep, and receives a price [for it], or if they kill it and eat it up, and they put an emaciated one in its place, if it becomes known, it is a capital sin for them. They have taken the god's most desired portion. But if it does not become known, whenever they arrive, let them take the rhyton of the god himself from the altar and let them bring it and say: 'If we have withheld the best portion from the mouth of the gods for ourselves and given it to ourselves

[22] Collins (1995: 89). [23] Haas (1994: 658–61).

[24] The most common Kizzuwatnian shape of *Brandopfer* is the *ambašši* ritual, which is associated with the *keldi* ritual. See Schwemer (1995). The question asked by Bergquist (1993: 40–1) may, thus, be considered as answered.

[25] *KUB* 20.96 iv 3–6, mentioned by Archi (1979: 198 n. 5) and edited by Popko (1994: 194–5): *t–ašta BELU* 1 GU_4.MAH 1 UDU.ŠIR *ANA* ^{D}U ^{URU}*zipalanda šipanti t–aš* ^{URU}*ḫattušaš iwar arha warnuwanzi*.

[26] Collins (2002: 326) (with bibliography).

[27] This text dating from the thirteenth century BC describes the duties of the Hittite temple personnel members. Therefore, they reflect the contemporaneous Hittite state cult practices.

> for our own desire, or if we have sold it or exchanged it, or accepted a payment for ourselves and put an emaciated one in its place, you, god, pursue us together with our wives and children because of your desired portion.'[28]

In the context of animal sacrifice, the sex of the animal is rarely specified. In a passage describing a seasonal festival called AN.TAH.ŠUM, a male sheep and a fattened cow are offered to the god Ea.[29] The same offering is given to the goddess Ištar of Niniveh during another festival.[30] In a text listing Hurrian deities, the sacrifice of a bull is performed in honour of the goddess Hepat. But it is interesting to notice that a duplicate of this tablet prescribes the sacrifice of a cow instead of the bull.[31] So it seems clear enough that the sex of the sacrificial victim is not determined by the sex of the divine recipient, despite the conclusions of some scholars.[32] When the animal is sacrificed as a substitute, its sex is usually the same as the one of the 'sacrifiant', a point to which we will return.

The animal's colour may be significant in some contexts. In exorcism rituals, for instance, animals that are usually used as substitutes or even scapegoats (Hittite *nakkuššī*) are often black. In other rituals, however, it is explicitly specified that colour is unimportant.[33]

As far as the age of the sacrificial victim is concerned, it is only very rarely mentioned. Except for the use of the sumerogram $SILA_4$ for 'lamb' instead

[28] *KUB* 13.4 and dupl. iv 56–77 (McMahon (1997: 221) and Süel (1985)): *anda–ma–ašta mān karšattar kuwapi karašteni n–at* DINGIR^{MEŠ}*–aš ANA* EN^{MEŠ}*–KUNU ūnnanzi nu karšadda*[(*ni*)] GAM-*an* (var. *kattan*) ^{LÚ}SIPA.GU_4 ^{LÚ}SIPA.UDU*–ya iyantaru n–at–šan haliyaz ašaunaz mahhan karšan n–at–kan* DINGIR^{MEŠ}*–aš QATAMMA anda arnuwandu* EGIR.KASKAL*–NI–ma–at–kan lē wahnuškanzi mān–ma–kan* ŠÀ KASKAL*–NI* ^{LÚ}SIPA.GU_4 *našma* ^{LÚ}SIPA.UDU *maršatar kuiški iyazi n–ašta naššu* GU_4.ŠE *našma* UDU.ŠE *wahnuzi nu–za–kan happar šarā dāi našma–an–zan–kan kuenzi n–an arha adanzi pedi–(š)ši–ma maklantan tarnanzi n–at išduwāri nu–šmaš–at* SAG.DU-*aš waštul* DINGIR^{MEŠ}*–aš–kan* ZI-*aš–šaš* (var. ZI–*NI*) *šanezzin* : *zūwan dāer mān–ma–at UL–ma* (var. *ŪL–ma*) *išduwāri n–at kuedani mēhūni aranzi n–ašta BIBRU* DINGIR^{LIM} ZI^{TI} GIŠ*ištana*<(*n*)>*az* GAM (var. *katta*) *dandu nu–za–kan anda kiššan pēdandu mān–wa–kan* DINGIR^{MEŠ}*–aš šanezzin*: *zūwan* KAxU-*az parā anzāš hūittiyauen nu–war–a*(*n*)*–naš–an anzel* ZI*–NI piyauēn naš ma–wa–naš–an ušsaniyauēn našma–war–an–kan wahnummen nu–wa–na*[*š*] *happar dāuēn pedi–*(*š*)*š i–ma–wa maklandan tarnaummen nu–wa–naš zik* DINGIR^{LUM} *tuel* ZI-*aš* : *zūwa*<(*š*)> *šer QADU* DAM^{MEŠ}*–NI* DUMU^{MEŠ}*–NI parheški*.

[29] Mouton (2004c: n°1). [30] Mouton (2004c: n°16). [31] Mouton (2007: n°64).

[32] See Haas (1994: 647), who writes: 'Zumeist erhalten die Götter die männlichen und die Göttinnen die weiblichen Tiere : Stier und Widder sind spezifische Opfer für den Wettergott, während Hebat oder die Sonnengöttin eine Kuh bevorzugen.'

[33] Ritual of Ašhella (*KUB* 9.32 and duplicates i 4–14: Dinçol (1985: 12–13): GIM-*an* U_4.KAM-*za nekuz mehūni kišari nu kuēš kuēš* EN^{MEŠ} KARAŠ *hūmanteš nu–za hūmanza* UDU.ŠIR *handaizzi* UDU.ŠIR*–ma mān hargaēš mān dankuwaēš ŪL kuitki duggāri* 'When, on that day, night falls, whoever the chiefs of the army [are], each [of them] prepared a billy goat. [Those] billy goats, whether they are white or dark colored, it does not matter.' The continuation of texts shows clearly that those billy goats are sacrificed to the invoked deity.

of the usual UDU 'sheep', some texts indicate that one should use a female animal 'which has not yet known mating'. However, in the context of substitution rituals, the situation is different: many of them require the use of a young animal (sumerogram TUR 'small, child'), usually a puppy and/or a piglet. This specification has been discussed by several hittitologists,[34] but I will not dwell on it here.

What Are the Sacrificial Meat Cuts and How Are They Treated?[35]

Hittite religious texts call the sacrificial meat cuts *šuppa* 'sacred/consecrated [meat cuts]'. After having examined the word *šuppa* in a representative sample of texts, it seems to me that almost all parts of the animal body could be used as a food offering to the gods, including skin, fat, and bones. Among them, we notice the liver, the heart, the ribs, the breast, the head, etc.[36] The first two organs, namely the liver and the heart, clearly have a special status among the *šuppa*. The main proof is the way they are treated, as we shall see later on. The lung, which, according to Jean-Louis Durand,[37] is anatomically connected to the heart and liver, is almost never mentioned as a food offering.[38]

Before they are deposited in front of the divine effigy, the consecrated meat cuts can be treated mainly in three different ways: (1) they can be deposited as raw meat on the offering table; (2) they can be 'cooked in a pot', that is, probably cooked in a similar way to a stew; or (3) they can be roasted in the *happina-*, a kind of hearth (texts also call this technique 'fire cooking').

Choosing not to cook the meat seems to be a cultural pattern, as it is mainly documented for the Hattian region.[39] The choice between pot cooking and *happina-* cooking seemingly depends on the nature of the meat cuts themselves. Indeed, the two cooking techniques are often combined within the same religious ceremony. When this is the case, we notice that the liver and heart are almost always distinguished from the

[34] See Collins (1990): this author suggests that puppies were otherwise valueless and therefore used in ritual contexts.

[35] See Mouton (2007).

[36] For more detail, see Mouton (2004c) and Mouton (2005).

[37] Durand (1989a: 95 (= id. (1979:143)).

[38] Mouton (2004c: n°29): *n–ašta ANA* UDU $^{U[Z]U}$*šuppa* ^{UZU}GABA ^{UZU}ZAG.LU ^{UZU}*auli parku haštāi* ^{UZU}*HÁŠĪ* ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG *n–at–kan ANA* ^{DUG}ÚTUL *piššiyazzi* '[He/she takes] the *šuppa*s of the sheep, namely the chest, the shoulder, the *auli-*, the "pure bone", the lung (and) the liver. He/she throws them into the pot.' This text is the only testimony that I could find of the insertion of the lung among the *šuppa*. This is not the only original feature of the text, since the liver is cooked in a pot, which is also unusual.

[39] See Mouton (2008a).

other body parts by the way they are cooked: they are roasted whereas all the other *šuppa* are cooked in a pot. Behind this differentiated treatment of the meat cuts, which reminds us of the ancient Greek material,[40] seems to be a different conception of these two groups of body parts.

One may think that the first group, represented by the liver and the heart, was considered to be the holiest parts of the animal body. As heirs of the Babylonian tradition, Hittites conceived of the liver as a very propitious medium for divine messages (hepatoscopy). A text describing a religious festival in honour of the goddess Hepat testifies that the liver of the sacrificial animal can be used for divination before being placed on the offering table.[41] As far as the heart is concerned, it is clearly a vital organ of the animal. Volkert Haas suggests that both the liver and the heart were regarded as sacred because of the blood they contained,[42] which is plausible because the taboo character of blood is well documented in Hittite texts. The same scholar[43] also assumed that the pot cooking was related to human meat consumption, contrary to the *happina-* cooking. But several texts actually contradict this interpretation, as, for instance, a passage of an AZU ritual saying: 'When these *šuppa* are cooked in a pot, one removes them from the pot. § One places them on the sacrificial table. One places (also) [the *šuppa*] from the *happina-* on the sacrificial table.'[44]

In Hittite Anatolia, consecration of the sacrificial meat and its deposition in front of a deity do not imply an interdiction for the human participants to eat them. Texts mention prohibitions on some divine foods, and some *šuppa* belong to this category, but the festival and ritual texts also make clear that this prohibition did not involve all the *šuppa*. Indeed, during many religious ceremonies, men are described eating the consecrated meat, and this practice is apparently customary. We should

[40] Detienne (1979: 20): 'Le rituel insiste sur l'opposition entre les viscères et les chairs de consommation, de deux manières: par l'ordre dans le temps et par les modalités de cuisson. Les viscères sont rôtis à la broche, dans la première phase du sacrifice, et mangés sur place à proximité de l'autel par le cercle étroit de ceux qui participent pleinement au sacrifice, tandis que les quartiers de viande, mis à bouillir dans le chaudron, sont destinés soit à un banquet plus large, soit à des distributions parfois lointaines. Quant aux entrailles, accommodées en saucisses et en boudins, elles sont reléguées en lisière du repas sacrificiel.' One may also think of the brahmanic treatment of the heart that is roasted, whereas the other meat cuts are cooked together in a pot (Malamoud (1989: 213)).

[41] Mouton (2004c: n°15): *nu–(š)šan BEL* SÍSKUR *ANA* UDU *QATAM* [*dāi*] *nu–(š)ši mān* ZI–*ŠU nu* ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG *uē*[*kzi*] *man–ši* ZI–*ŠU–ma nu* ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG *U*[*L uēkzi*] 'The ritual sponsor [places] his hand on the sheep. If [it is] his desire, he ex[amines] the liver, but if his desire [is otherwise], he does not [examine] the liver.'

[42] Haas (1994: 655): 'in erster Linie also das Blut und die blutreichsten Organe Herz und Leber'.

[43] Haas (1994: 658).

[44] Mouton (2004c: n°14): *mahhan kē* ^{DUG}ÚTUL ^{UZU}*šuppa ari n–at–kan IŠTU* ^{DUG}ÚTUL *šarā danzi* § *n–at–šan ŠA* SÍSKUR ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR-*i tianzi happinaš* [*šuppa*$^{?}$] *ŠA* SÍSKUR ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR-*i tianzi*.

however emphasize the fact that human consumption of the liver and heart is very seldom mentioned.[45]

Some hittitologists have interpreted human consumption of the *šuppa* as a communion with the divine.[46] I would be careful with this specific notion, as no text can lead us to affirm that such a concept actually existed in Hittite Anatolia.[47] However, there is no doubt that, in the Hittite view, mortals taking part in a religious ceremony are enjoying, or at least have at one time enjoyed, commensality with gods. This is explicitly mentioned in a mythological narration inserted into a therapeutic ritual text: 'The ritual practitioner performs for the first time a conjuration [in front of] the Sun god in the following way: "[You,] Sun god, you have organized a festival. You have invited all the gods [and you have also invited] all the mortals."'[48]

In Which Contexts Does Sacrifice Take Place?

In the context of religious festivals, animal sacrifice is very often the departure point of a ritual banquet. The persons taking part in it form the 'great assembly' (*šalli aššeššar*) and apparently come from the social elite of the kingdom:[49] members of the royal family, high officials of the palace institution, priests, etc. 'Ritual experts' may also be invited whenever they are necessary for the ritual process. Unfortunately, these festival texts do not tell us how the sacrificial meat was distributed to the human participants. We know how significant this distribution can be for the social organization of a community.[50] For filling this gap in the available

[45] See, for instance, Mouton (2005: n°41): *apē–ma* ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG^{HÁ} *U* 1 NINDA *ān* 1 NINDA *LABKU–ya arha paršiya*[*nzi*] *nu hūmantiya parā pianzi n–at adanzi* 'One breaks into pieces the entire livers, one warm bread and one fresh bread. One passes [them] over to everyone and they eat them.'

[46] Mazoyer (2002: 86): 'Dans la suite du rituel, on manipulait les foies et les cœurs puis on les mangeait. On entrait ainsi en relation directe avec la divinité. Il n'y avait rien de sacrilège dans l'accaparement de la nourriture des dieux par les hommes. En se nourrissant de la nourriture des dieux les hommes s'assimilaient à ceux-ci, ils s'élevaient au-dessus de leur condition d'homme et vivaient en osmose avec les divinités.'

[47] The main argument that some scholars find in favour of a Hittite communion between the gods and their human servants is the expression traditionally rendered as 'to drink a god'. However, recent studies have shown that this expression should be interpreted as an abbreviation for 'to drink (in honor of) a god, to make a toast'. See, among others, Soysal (2008).

[48] *KBo* 11.14 and duplicates i 23–5 (Ünal (1996: 18–19 and 28): *nu* IGI-*zi palši uddanaš* EN-*aš* ^{D}UTU-*i kišan hūkzi* § ^{D}UTU-*uš–za* EZEN$_4$–*an* DÙ-*at nu–za dapiuš* DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*u*[*š*] *halzāiš*$^{?}$ [*nu–z*] *a hūmandan* DUMU.LÚ.ULU$_{19}$.LU-*an halzāiš*$^{?}$. See also Ünal (1996: 51–2) for a commentary and a parallel text.

[49] Archi (1979: 204–9); Ünal (1987–90: 268) and Collins (1995: 86–7).

[50] Detienne (1979: 23). For an example of social hierarchy reflected by the dispatching of sacrificial meat cuts, see, for example, McEwan (1983: 188–91).

documentation, one should collect the data that are spread through all the lists of offerings and cultic inventories related to religious festivals. But this time-consuming task has not been undertaken yet.[51]

Divine consumption of the *šuppa* seems to be a symbolic event that does not preclude the human participants from eating them. Louise Bruit Zaidman's thoughts are relevant: she stated, 'c'est la piété du geste d'offrande ou d'abandon qui est décisive, [plus que] le sort ultérieur des biens abandonnés'.[52] Hittite texts do not specify how the gods eat the food they receive, but a passage of a ritual prescription says: 'The *šuppa* spend the night in front of the deity but the day after I remove them and one eats (them) entirely.'[53] By the same logic, another passage indicates the following: 'The *šuppa* which had been deposited in front of the altar, the day after, priests take them and cook (them) in the temple.'[54] Thus, a long exhibition of the *šuppa* on the offering table, which is itself placed in front of the divine effigy, is, in most of the Anatolian regions, sufficient to transmit these *šuppa* to the god. That means that roasting the liver and the heart in the *happina-* is not supposed to transfer them into the divine realm, contrary to what has been suggested for Classical sources.[55] In Hittite Anatolia, roasting the sacrificial meat is a way to cook it, but nothing more.

There are different reasons to use animal sacrifice as a food offering. One of its functions which is well documented is propitiation.[56] A fragment of text contains the following incantation: 'Ordinary bread is broken. He/she places one loaf of ordinary bread [on] the floor and recites [thus]: "[You] who are standing in front of the Sun god, speak in favour [for me] to the Sun god!" He/she breaks two loaves of ordinary bread and places them on the table. He/she places the liver upon it.'[57] Another passage indicates: 'Now the "lord of the ritual" is giving you an offering. Take the offering,

[51] Taggar-Cohen (2006) does not examine this aspect.

[52] Bruit Zaidman (2005: 39).

[53] Mouton (2005: n°45): *nu šuppa PANI* DINGIR^{LIM} *šeszi lukkadda–ma–at šarā dahhi n–e arha adanzi*. Does the exposure of the *šuppa*s during the night take part in their consecration? Indeed, it seems that night is a propitious time for purification and consecration rites (Mouton (2008b)).

[54] Mouton (2004c: n°4): ^{UZU}*šuppa*^{HÁ} *kue* ZAG.GAR.RA-*aš peran kittat n–ez lukkatta* $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$SANGA *danzi INA* É.DINGIR^{LIM} *zanuwanzi*.

[55] For the Greek world, see, among other things, the lexicographic study of Casabona (1964: 334), who writes: 'le feu est le mode normal de transmission aux dieux'. For the Roman world, see, for example, Briquel (2004: 136).

[56] Collins (1995: 90): 'More than simply a communion with the god, the ritual feast was a chance to sway a god or goddess to benevolence. In these cases, the sacrifice serves to reinforce the prayer.'

[57] Mouton (2004c: n°5): NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA^{HÁ} *paršiyanda nu* 1 NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA *dagan dāi nu malti* ^{D}UTU-*i kuiš peran arta nu–wa–kan* ^{D}UTU-*i parranda* SIG$_5$-*in memiški* 2 NINDA.GUR$_4$.RA^{HÁ} *paršiya n–aš–kan ANA* ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR-*i dāi šer–a–ššan* ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG *dāi*.

god, and become benevolent towards him. Turn your ear towards what he is telling [you]!'[58]

Beside the function of food offering, animal sacrifice can also be used in substitution rituals. Several so-called 'magical' techniques are used for giving to the sacrificial victim the status of substitute. One of these techniques is identification between the animal and its donor.[59] This is particularly clear in the choice of the animal's sex, which is the same as that of the person who commissions the sacrifice, as is shown, among other texts, in a purification ritual: 'A *ušantari* cow. But if [it is] a man, she [= the ritual practitioner] prepares a bull.'[60] In this precise context of substitution, 'the exchangeability of man and animal in sacrifice', as Walter Burkert[61] puts it, is obvious. However, this concept cannot be generalized for all Hittite blood sacrifice. Another technique used for turning a sacrificial victim into a substitute is described in several ritual texts: one cuts the victim into two and places its halves on either side of a 'magical' vegetal gate. In this kind of ritual, we observe the use of human substitutes who are also cut into two halves and deposited in a mirror configuration at either sides of the gate.[62] When the 'patients' have crossed the 'magical' passage, they have clearly been purified.

Some Conclusions and Research Perspectives

Besides the need for further investigating the issues I have briefly presented in this chapter, other questions remain unanswered. For example, we should examine the roles of the Hittite king during sacrificial rituals.[63] We should also exploit the archaeological data, namely the animal remains and iconography. I have already checked this last aspect, but the data are quite limited for the Hittite sphere.[64]

[58] *KBo* 12.96 iv 10–14 (Collins (1995: 91)) : *kāša=wa=(t)ta* SÍSKUR EN SISKUR *pāi nu=wa=za* DINGIR^{LAM} SÍSKUR *dā nu=wa=(š)ši=(š)šan anda aššuli nāišhut nu=(t)ta ku-it memieškizzi nu=(š)ši* GEŠTU-*an parā lagān harak*.

[59] Malamoud (1989: 204): 'si forte est la sympathie, la volonté d'identification qui le [= le sacrifiant] portent vers sa victime, qu'il cherche dans son attitude un signe d'assentiment avant de l'immoler'. Looking for divine signs in such a context is well documented in Mesopotamian divination treatises (Starr (1983)) but it is not, as far as I know, mentioned in the Hittite corpus of texts.

[60] Goetze (1938: 8–9): 1 GU_4.ÁB *ušantariš mān* LÚ-*aš–ma nu* GU_4.MAH *handai*[*zzi*].

[61] Burkert (1983: 21). Biardeau and Malamoud (1976: 19) also mention the possibility, for the sacrificed animal or vegetable offering, of representing the ritual sponsor.

[62] Mouton (2004a: 312–14).

[63] Masetti Rouault (2002) studies the Neo-Assyrian sources in which the king is both the ritual sponsor and the person who actually performs the sacrifice. See also, in ethnology, Adler (1987).

[64] For Hittite religious iconography, see van Loon (1985). An illustration of a Hittite sacrifice of a bull is, for instance, represented on the Inandıktepe vase from the Old Hittite period (sixteenth century BC): see Özgüç (1988). For Assyrian iconography, see Reade (2005).

The Hittite texts referring to animal sacrifice do not seem to support Walter Burkert's *homo necans* theory.[65] If there is any notion of violence in Hittite religion, it appears only in some Hattian festivals. In this context, a ritualized hunt takes place and several men wearing masks imitate the behaviour of a wild animal (a bear for instance) while others hunt them with bows.[66] And it is important to underline the fact that, in Hittite Anatolia, ritualized hunt and animal sacrifice not only coexist but even represent opposing perspectives. Cristiano Grottanelli has shown this nicely:[67] the hunted animal comes from the outside world and is captured by the man before being killed. Inversely, the sacrificed animal belongs to the man and this latter renounces it in favour of the god.

Hittite sacrifice, bloody or not, does not seem to endorse a function related to ritual violence. Its 'utilitarian' character, as Alain Caillé (among others) puts it, seems clear:[68] one gives an offering to a god with a view to receiving from him something one desires.[69] This is the famous *do ut des* principle. But the nature of the demand may vary: one may seek protection (by repelling evil, being purified, etc.), one may ask for hostile deities to leave and this would correspond to what the africanist Luc de Heusch calls 'disjunction between human and divine spheres'.[70] In Hittite Anatolia, sacrifice seems to be the usual way to feed the gods, since this task has been attributed to men. A passage of the 'Instructions to the Temple Personnel' describes in detail the nature of the relationship between the gods and their human servants:

> [Are] the spirit of man and god['s one] somehow different? No! Is that so as far as [this matter is concerned]? No! [Their] spirit [is] one. When the servant stands before his master, he [is] washed and he has clothed [himself] in clean [clothes]. He gives him [= his master] either to eat or to drink. Since this [man's] master eats and drinks, [in] his spirit he [is] relaxed. He becomes indebted to him. But if, at some point, [the servant] is *negligent*, is [his master] not *irritated*? Is the spirit of the god somehow different? If the servant at some point angers his master, either one kills him, or one injures his nose, eyes, [and] ears. Or he [= the master] [will sei]ze him, [and] his wife, his children, his brother, his sister, his in-laws, his family, his male or

[65] Burkert (1983).
[66] Collins (2002: 328) (with bibliography). See also Pecchioli Daddi (1987). These ritual sequences have been interpreted by some scholars as remains of a prehistoric totemism (Jakob-Rost (1966: 420–2)). However, we do know how carefully the notion of totemism should be used when studying ancient religions.
[67] Grottanelli (1988: 18). [68] See also Caillé (1995).
[69] For the importance of the ritual sponsor's wish, see Herrenschmidt (1995).
[70] de Heusch (1986).

> female slave. Does one only blame him, does one not do anything [else] to him? If ever he dies, he does not die alone but his family [is] also included with him. If, however, someone angers the spirit of a god, does the god avenge [his spirit] [only] on him? Does he not avenge it from his wife, [his children], his descendants, his family, his male and female servants, his cattle, his sheep and his grain? He destroys him utterly. [So] be extremely mindful in a matter pertaining to a god.[71]

One of the key sentences in this passage is the notion of obligation linking the deity: *n=at=ši=kan anda* [*t*]*amenkiškitta* (literally 'it [= the god's spirit] is linked to him [the mortal servant]'). The god becomes indebted to the man who took care of him. This aspect echoes Marcel Mauss's suggestions on the 'contractual' character of sacrifice:[72] Hittite sacrifice is mainly a way for human beings to oblige the gods to interfere in their favour.[73]

[71] Süel (1985) and McMahon (1997: 217–18) (*KUB* 13.4 i 21'–38' – diverging translation): UN-*aš* DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*aš*–(*š*)*a* ZI-*anza tamāiš kuiški UL* [*k*]*ī–pat kuit UL* ZI-*anza–ma* 1-*aš–pat* ÌR–*ŠU kuwapi ANA* EN–*ŠU peran šarā artari n–aš warpanza nu parkuwaya waššan harzi* [*n*]*u–*(*š*)*ši našš*u *adanna peškizzi našma–*(*š*)*ši akuwanna peškizzi nu–za apāš* EN–*ŠU azzikkizzi akkuškizzi kuit n–aš* ZI-*an arha lānza n–at–ši–kan anda* [*t*]*amenkiškitta mān–aš anda–ma kuwapi* IGI-*wannanza n–aš–kan UL* : *hanhaniy*[*a*]*i* ZI DINGIR^{LIM}*–ma tamāiš kuiški nu–kan mān* ÌR–*ŠU kuwapi* EN–*ŠU* TUKU.TUKU-*nuzi n–an–kan naššu kunanzi našma–*[*k*]*an* KIR$_4$–*ŠU* IGI^{HÁ}– [*Š*]*U* GEŠTU^{HÁ}–*ŠU idālaūhhanzi našma–an–zan–k*[*a*]*n* DAM–*ŠU* DUMU^{MEŠ}–[*Š*]*U* ŠEŠ–*ŠU* NIN–*ŠU* ^{LÚ}*kainaš* MÁŠ–*ŠU naššu* ÌR–[*ŠU*] *našma* GÉME–*ŠU-aš* [*IS*A*]*BAT n–ašta parranda halzianzi–pat n–an UL* [*k*]*uitki* DÙ-*anzi mān–aš aki–ya kuwapi n–aš UL* 1-*aš aki* MÁŠ–*ŠU–ma–*(*š*)*ši tettiyan–pat* § *mān–ma–ašta* ZI^{TUM} DINGIR^{L}[^{IM} *kui*]*š* TUKU.TUKU-*yanuzi n–at–kan* DINGIR^{LIM} *apēdani–*[*pat* 1]-*edani anda ša*[*nah*]*zi UL–at–kan ANA* DAM–*ŠU* [DUMU–*ŠU* NUM] UN–*ŠU* MÁŠ–*ŠU* ÌR^{MEŠ}–*Š*[(*U* GÉM)]E^{MEŠ}–*ŠU* GU$_4$HÁ–*ŠU* UDU^{MEŠ}–*ŠU halkit–* (*t*)*a an*[*da ša*]*nahzi n–an–kan h*[*ū*]*mandaz harnikzi nu–za ANA* INIM [DINGIR^{LIM} *me*]*kki marri nah*[*hant*]*eš ēšten*.

[72] Mauss (1970: 304–5).

[73] See also Masquelier (1994: 22): 'Quelle que soit sa finalité, l'interaction sacrificielle des vivants et des Puissances apparaît comme chargée de contraintes et d'obligations mutuelles – relevant d'un code particulier des bonnes manières de conduite. Mais pour beaucoup d'interprètes l'offrande/immolation serait avant tout la réponse à une exigence, une injonction des Puissances, bien plutôt qu'un acte spontané; de telle sorte qu'il en incombe souvent à celui qui fait l'offrande (ou sacrifie) de persuader les Puissances-destinataires de son bon droit.'

CHAPTER 11

*The Reception of Egyptian Animal Sacrifice in Greek Writers: Ethnic Stereotyping or Transcultural Discourse?**

Ian Rutherford

Herodotus, like other Greek writers, seems to presuppose that animal sacrifice is one of the great constants of religion, along with the recognition of the gods themselves. All peoples have it in some form: not just the Greeks, but the Scythians (4.61–2), the Persians (1.131–2), the Libyans (4.188), and the Egyptians too (2.38–9).[1] But the basic rite is manifested differently in different cultures. In many cases, it is impossible to cross-check what the Greeks say about the ritual practice of the other culture because we lack adequate sources. An exception here is Egypt, where the sources for animal offerings are plentiful, although often difficult to interpret.[2] My aim in this chapter is to compare them with the Greek reception of Egyptian animal sacrifice, and thus to get a sense of how accurate the Greek accounts were.

There is no doubt that the ritual killing of animals was an important part of Egyptian religion. Much of this is not particularly close to a sacrifice as we know it from Greco-Roman religion.[3] One has only to think of the well-known Opening of the Mouth ceremony from Egyptian funerary ritual which included the touching of the severed forelimb of an animal against a mummy or a statue, apparently as a way of transferring the life force.[4] Equally, it seems to have been Egyptian practice for wild animals, such as the hippopotamus, to be killed in the course of activities that

* Earlier versions of this chapter were given as papers at Kent and UCL; thanks to the audiences on those occasions. Also to David Frankfurter and Catherine Bouanich.

[1] On the Scythians and in general, see Hartog (1988:173–92), Hartog (1989); on Scythian sacrifice, Lincoln (1991:198–208). On Zoroastrian sacrifice, see De Jong (2002). On eating and sacrifice as a feature that characterises different societies in Greek mentality, see Vidal-Naquet (1986) and Burkert (1990).

[2] Recent general introductions to the subject include Pirelli (2002); Quack (2006); Quack (2008b); Labrique (1993); Eyre (2002:170–4).

[3] See the useful study of Frankfurter (2011).

[4] On the Opening of the Mouth Ritual, see Otto (1960), Roeder (2008).

resemble a royal hunt (for the porous borderline between hunt and sacrifice in Greek religion, see Larson's chapter in this volume (Chapter 2)).[5]

In Egyptian religion, offerings of animals, and indeed other offerings as well, often had a symbolic value. Two symbolic values are particularly common. Firstly, the animal sacrificed can represent the 'Eye of Horus', stolen by Seth and now returned to Horus.[6] Secondly, it can be represented as the enemy of the gods or of the Egyptian state. The classic treatment of the latter is by Hermann Junker, who argued three theses:[7] firstly, that sacrificial animals symbolise enemies; secondly, that they were not thought of as food of the gods; and thirdly, that the pieces of flesh were burned, which was meant to symbolise the destruction of the enemy. He cites a caption accompanying a sacrificial procession of oxen and gazelles in the temple at Dendera: 'the enemies are slaughtered, to delight the fire-goddess with their food'.[8] As Jean Yoyotte put it:[9]

> La doctrine pharaonique du sacrifice sanglant fait donc assumer par le roi, gardien de l'ordre établi, la série des gestes destructeurs que requiert l'offrande carnée – capture, immobilisation, meurtre, démembrement, mise au feu – et elle fait magiquement subir le contrecoup de ces gestes aux enemies de l'ordre, tant aux dimensions du cosmos qu'à celles de la société.

Animal victims could represent mortal enemies of the pharaoh (in surviving images the horns of cattle terminate in human hands) (Fig 11.1).[10] But as the enemy of the gods, the animal is identified with Seth, the opponent of Osiris and Horus, known in *interpretatio Graeca* as Typhon. Thus, in a section of the Opening of the Mouth ritual, the slaughter of the victim is represented as a drama with utterances by three actors (the Sem-priest, the 'great kite', and the *ỉmy-ḫnt* or chamberlain), and the victim is addressed as an enemy of the gods:[11]

1. Sem priest: 'Giving the signal for the male Upper Egyptian bull'. Butcher: 'Descending on it, cutting off its foreleg, taking out its heart'.
2. Words are said to its ear by the great kite: 'Your two lips have done that against you. Does your mouth still open?'

[5] For the relationship between hunting and sacrifice, see also Otto (1950), Pirelli (2002:122–5).
[6] Altenmüller (1982:582); Griffiths (1970:415). [7] Junker (1910:72).
[8] Kees (1942) argued that the burning of the victims was often merely symbolic. Cf. most recently Yoyotte (1980–1), Quack (2006), Derchain (1962:28–30), Rondot (1989:258). Labrique (1993:180) suggests that the reason the sacrifice of domestic animals is linked to Typhon is not that the animals themselves symbolise disorder, but rather that the violence of the sacrifice itself suggests disorder.
[9] Yoyotte (1980–1:47).
[10] As in a wall-painting from the Tomb of Huy (figure 7 in Leclant (1958); fig. 11.1 here).
[11] Otto (1950:167), Otto (1960:73–4 =Szene 23; cf. 102–3 = Szene 43).



Fig 11.1. Painting from the Tomb of Huy (Gardiner-Davies, 1926, pl. xxx).

3. *ỉmy-ḫnt*: 'I have fettered them for you, I have bought you your enemy. He is stretched out under you, his arms being on his head. I have killed him for you entirely: "Do not attack that god".'

Here is another example from Greco-Roman Esna in which four red goats (the colour red as associated with Seth) were killed in a sort of apotropaic ritual after being identified with papyrus-labels depicting the enemy of the king with the names Apophis and Baba, two well-known divine adversaries.[12]

> Then they fetch four [red] goats and kill them at the four doors which are there, by the hand of the slaughters of the house of life. Also, they make a figure of an enemy, against whom the heart of the king is wrath, written with red dye on a new papyrus-leaf; also the name of Apophis, the one of bad character, and Baba, written with red dye on them, and they make them from wax in the mouth of the red goats. And it is given in the mouth of the red goats in the south, north, west and east. Given into the fire with fenugreek and bryonia. Then they recite the Book of the Offerings, that of the Overthrow of Apophis, enemy of the sun god. It is given to the water.

The representation of sacrificial victims as gods, at least of gods who threaten the divine order, is a distinctive feature of Egyptian religion which is difficult to parallel in other ancient cultures.[13] The nearest Greek religion comes to

[12] Quack (2006:76); Sauneron (1962:25); Sauneron (1968:16 no.199).

[13] If animal sacrifice symbolises Seth, some have seen Osiris too as linked to animal sacrifice. Pirelli (2002) suggests that the myth of the death, dismemberment and recreation of Osiris may have arisen from a story of creation through primordial sacrifice, as we find it in Indian tradition. The idea of

that is perhaps the idea of the *sparagmos* of the infant Dionysus in the so-called 'Orphic' myth.[14]

The 'eye of Horus' symbolism of sacrificial offerings seems to be unknown in the Greek world at any period, but Greek writers of the Roman period – Diodorus of Sicily and Plutarch – do know that in Egyptian mentality the sacrificial victim represents Seth. The usual explanation for this is the influence of Manetho of Sebennytus (early third century BC), an Egyptian priest who wrote about Egyptian history and religion in Greek,[15] but other people could have mediated between the cultures also, such as Eudoxus of Cnidus in the fourth century.[16] In the standard *interpretatio Graeca* the name of Seth was 'Typhon', as we see in a passage of Diodorus (*Bib. hist.*1.88.4):

> Red oxen, however, may be sacrificed, because it is thought that this was the colour of Typhon, who plotted against Osiris and was then punished by Isis for the death of her husband.

In *On Isis and Osiris* 30–1 (362e–363c) Plutarch discusses ritual practices linked to Typhon: he describes how at Coptos the Egyptians throw a red ass over a precipice, and how they also sacrifice red oxen, the animals being marked by a seal showing a man with his hands behind his back and a sword plunged into his throat (the last detail attributed to Castor of Rhodes).[17] Manetho's influence is clearest in *On Isis and Osiris* 49, 371b–c (F20 Jacoby), where Typhon is associated with ass, crocodile, hippopotamus:

> But Typhon is part of the soul that is like the Titans: passionate, impulsive, irrational, and unstable. He is the part of the body that is morbid and diseased and causes disturbances, such as storms, extremes of temperature and eclipses of the sun and moon. These are like attacks and outbursts of Typhon. And the name 'Seth', by which they call Typhon, means this: it means, 'that which overpowers and subdues by violence', and it often means 'reversal' and also 'outbreak'. Some say Bebon himself was one of the companions of Typhon, but Manetho says that Typhon himself was called Bebon; the name means 'constraint' or 'hindrance', meaning that the power of Typhon obstructs actions that are proceeding on their way and traveling toward the proper goal. (50) Therefore they assign to him the most stupid of

Osiris as a deity who undergoes sacrifice or ritual killing was popular in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: see Moret (1902:222–3); also Frazer (1927:2.97–9) (Osiris as a corn-god); pointed out also in Budge (1911:402–3).

[14] For the *sparagmos* of Dionysus, see e.g. Graf and Johnston (2007:80–5).

[15] Dillery (1999), Dillery (2016).

[16] On Eudoxus and Egyptian religion, see Méautis (1919).

[17] For *On Isis and Osiris* the commentary of Griffiths (1970) remains invaluable. The sacrifice of asses was still going on at Deir-el-Bahari in the fourth century AD: see Łajtar (1991:61–3), Łajtar (2006: no.172).

> domesticated animals, the ass, and the most savage of wild animals, the crocodile and the hippopotamus.

Later on (*On Isis and Osiris* 73, 380c–e) Plutarch describes the strange procedure that accompanies such sacrifices: if there is a drought or other crisis, the priests lead aside certain of these animals, and first honour them, then threaten them, and finally, if the crisis persists, they kill them, with the intention of vexing Typhon. At least some of this seems to be accurate.[18]

Manetho also has a theory about how the Egyptians once sacrificed humans. Two fragments are particularly important. The first is *On Isis and Osiris* 73, 380c–e (fr.22 Jacoby):

> Indeed in Eileithyaspolis they used to burn men alive, as Manetho has recorded, calling them 'Typhonians', and they used to remove and scatter their ashes with winnowing fans. But this was done openly and at a fixed time, in the dog days . . . (contrasting with the secret killing of animals).[19]

'Typhonian' means 'associated with Seth', a term Manetho elsewhere applies to the Hyksos, who were driven out of Egypt in the second millennium BC, and founded Jerusalem. The apocalyptic 'Oracle of the Potter', composed in Hellenistic Egypt, probably in Demotic Egyptian, describes a period of unrest, when Egypt is ruled by the 'Typhonians'.[20] These Typhonians are normally taken to have been Greeks, and the use of the term here puts the Greeks on a par with the Hyksos. In any case, the implication is that, as associated with Seth, they deserve the fate of other 'Typhonian offerings': burn them!

The second text is Porphyry, *De abst.*2.55 (fr.14 Jacoby):[21]

> The rite of human sacrifice at Heliopolis in Egypt was suppressed by Amosis, as Manetho testified in his book *On Ancient Ritual and Religion*. Men were sacrificed to Hera: they were examined, like the pure calves which are sought out and marked with a seal. Three men used to be sacrificed each day, but in their stead Amosis ordered that the same number of waxen images be offered.

[18] Griffiths (1970:550–1).

[19] καὶ γὰρ ἐν Εἰληθυίας (MS: ἰδυθιας) πόλει ζῶντας ἀνθρώπους κατεπίμπρασαν, ὡς Μανεθὼς ἱστόρηκε, Τυφωνίους καλοῦντες, καὶ τὴν τέφραν αὐτῶν λικμῶντες ἠφάνιζον καὶ διέσπειρον. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἐδρᾶτο φανερῶς καὶ καθ' ἕνα καιρὸν ἐν ταῖς κυνάσιν ἡμέραις.

[20] See Koenen (1968:200–1) P2 (Rainer), 1.4–5: 'In the time of the Typhonians they will say "wretched Egypt"' and 1.12–3: 'The belt-wearers will destroy themselves, being Typhonians.'

[21] Κατέλυσε δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἡλίου πόλει τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸν τῆς ἀνθρωποκτονίας νόμον Ἄμωσις, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ Μανεθὼς ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἀρχαϊσμοῦ καὶ εὐσεβείας. Ἐθύοντο δὲ τῇ Ἥρᾳ· καὶ ἐδοκιμάζοντο καθάπερ οἱ ζητούμενοι καθαροὶ μόσχοι καὶ συσφραγιζόμενοι· ἐθύοντο δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας τρεῖς, ἀνθ' ὧν κηρίνους ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Ἄμωσις τοὺς ἴσους ἀποτίθεσθαι.

Amosis here might either be Amasis, the Saite pharaoh familiar to us from Herodotus, or Ahmose, founder of the New Kingdom almost a millennium earlier. It is disconcerting that the two fragments seem to associate the ritual with two different towns, Eleithyiaspolis (= El Kab) in Upper Egypt, and Heliopolis in Lower Egypt, and it is uncertain how to reconcile the discrepancy.[22]

To anyone familiar with Greek religion, the idea that human sacrifice once took place but was commuted into something else will sound familiar, except that in Greek religion it is usually replaced by the sacrifice of an animal.[23] One might wonder if Manetho, who is not just a source for Egyptian practice but also a 'transcultural' writer, standing between Greek and Egyptian traditions, and to some extent trying to reconcile the two by establishing points of contact or 'synchronisms' between them,[24] invented the idea of an ancient and now defunct tradition of human sacrifice in Egypt in order to provide an Egyptian equivalent for the Greek myth of Busiris, which had been around from at least the sixth century BC.[25] The link is in fact made by Diodorus of Sicily (1.88.4; drawing on Manetho?):

> Red oxen, however, may be sacrificed, because it is thought that this was the colour of Typhon, who plotted against Osiris and was then punished by Isis for the death of her husband. Men also, if they were of the same colour as Typhon, were sacrificed, they say, in ancient times by kings at the tomb of Osiris; however, only a few Egyptians are now found red in colour, but the majority of such are non-Egyptians, and this is why the story spread among the Greeks of the slaying of foreigners by Busiris, although Busiris was not the name of the king but of the tomb of Osiris, which is called that in the language of that land.

Even if one of Manetho's motives was to establish such a synchronism, however, it is still possible that he believed that human sacrifice had actually taken place in Egypt in the past. Whether or not it ever really had is still disputed,[26] but there is no doubt that Egyptian texts portray animal sacrifices as the destruction of human adversaries of the pharaoh, and some iconographic sources seem to represent humans about to be sacrificed. In an article published in 1981 Yoyotte[27] showed that the idea of human sacrifice to 'Hera' of Heliopolis (i.e. Egyptian Mut, if we subtract

[22] In fr.22 the reading Εἰληθυίας πόλει is not certain; manuscripts have ἰδυθιας. In fr.14, Waddell, following Fruin, read Εἰλειθυίας πόλει, eliminating the reference to Heliopolis entirely.
[23] See Burkert (1983:21 n.35); Burkert (1992:73–4). [24] Dillery (2016).
[25] Panyassis of Halicarnassos, fr.26K; Matthews (1974:126–8); Hesiod fr.378 (Bousiris eleven generations older than Herakles) classed as spurious by Merkelbach and West (1967:183); Pherecydes of Athens, FGrH3F17; see Laurens (1986).
[26] Griffiths (1970:551–2). [27] Yoyotte (1980–1:59–104).

the *interpretatio Graeca*) is paralleled in Egyptian ritual texts, especially the 'Ritual for Repelling the Evil One', which talks about enemies of the state being burned in the 'fire of Mut-who-carries-her-brother', a goddess linked to Heliopolis. Yoyotte concluded his article with the suggestion that ritual immolation of humans by fire really did occur at Heliopolis and really was stamped out by Amasis in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.[28]

The fashion these days is to suppose that all Greek traditions about barbarians engaging in human sacrifice, including the Busiris-myth, are products of Greek ethnic stereotyping.[29] But if there really had been human sacrifice in Egypt, or just a widespread belief that it had once happened, or even merely that animal sacrifice symbolises the destruction of human enemies of the state, the possibility arises that the Greek myth of Busiris might to some extent reflect Egyptian religious and political discourse; in other words, that the explanation of the Busiris-myth given by Diodorus/Manetho might have an element of truth in it.

Herodotus' remarks about the Busiris myth come at the end of his discussion of Herakles, which itself is a sort of digression in the middle of his account of Egyptian religion. In the course of this, he gives us a detailed account of two types of Egyptian animal sacrifice, the earliest accounts in Greek literature and the most detailed. Although Herodotus lacks Manetho's intimate knowledge of the symbolism of Egyptian animal sacrifice, he seems to be well informed about the practice, so much so that Egyptologists have made use of his remarks in reconstructing contemporary Egyptian religion.[30]

Herodotus chooses to focus on the sacrifice of a bull, which he believes to be common to all Egyptians (2.41). Cows are universally taboo, and for other animals, such as sheep and goats, different areas have different views on the legitimacy of sacrifice (2.42, 46).[31] The account of the bull sacrifice begins with preliminaries (2.38): firstly, checking the victim for the right signs (this seems to be a mistake; in fact they checked for the absence of signs) and, secondly, marking the victim as suitable for sacrifice with a seal, the task of the '*moskhosphragistes*'.[32] Then they take the animal to the altar, and dispose of the head ((2.39), tr. Waterfield):

[28] Yoyotte (1980–1:102). [29] Rives (1995); Vasunia (2001:190–3).
[30] See e.g. Erman (1934:336); Ghoneim (1977:212, 214–15).
[31] In Thebes, in Upper Egypt, goats are sacrificed to Amun but not sheep; they do, however, slaughter a ram once a year, and dress the statue of Zeus-Amun in its fleece. In Mendes, by contrast, sheep are sacrificed but not goats. Strabo, 17.1.23, tells us that sacrifice of sheep took place only in Momemphis in the Delta. Feder (2005) collects examples. For local variation in sacrificial practice, see also Beinlich (1979).
[32] On *dokimasia*, see in Feyel (2006:esp. 51–4); Yoyotte (1980–1:54); Labrique (2005:168).

> The way they perform the sacrifice is as follows. They take the marked beast to the altar where the sacrifice is to take place and light a fire. Then they sprinkle wine over the sacrificial victim and on the altar, invoke the deity, and cut the animal's throat. Once this is done, they cut off the head. They skin the body, but call down curses on the creature's head, and bear it away. In towns where they have a square and where there are resident Greek traders they take the head to the square and sell it, but if there are no Greeks around, they throw it in the river. The intention expressed in the curses they call down on the victims' heads is to divert onto the creature's head any evil that might befall either the particular worshippers or Egypt as a whole. The same practice as regards the heads of the sacrificial victims and sprinkling of wine is followed all over Egypt in all of their sacrifices, and as a result of this practice no Egyptian will eat the head of any living creature.

The way the head is treated suggests that all the Sethian associations were projected onto it. Other Greek authors corroborate that the head is disposed of (Egyptian sources are inconclusive[33]), though Herodotus is the only one who talks about it being given to the Greeks. It is difficult to think of any other text in which members of a different ethnic group are said to share a sacrificial division. Clearly there are two ways of looking at this: from the Egyptian point of view, the fact that the Greeks get the head reinforces their position as foreigners, who are regularly associated with Seth;[34] on the other hand, the very fact that the Egyptians allow the Greeks to share the sacrifice suggests that the force of the ritual is to create a quasi-commensal relationship between the two groups.

After that, Herodotus describes what they do with the rest of the victim (2.40):

> The way the entrails are removed and the burning of the victims varies from victim to victim in Egypt. I shall talk about the most important goddess in their religion and about the most important festival they celebrate. After skinning the bull, they offer up prayers and remove all the intestines, but leave the rest of the innards and the fat in the body. Then they cut off the legs, the very end of the rump, its shoulders, and its neck. Next they fill the remainder of the bull's body with purified loaves, honey, raisins, figs, frankincense, myrrh, and other perfumed spices, and then they burn it all,

[33] Cf. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 31, 363b; Aelian *NA* 10.21.21–7 about heads being given to the crocodiles at Ombo. For the Egyptian background, cf. Ikram (1995:118 and particularly 216), who draws attention to Papyrus Bulaq 11, a document containing accounts of meat, wine, and bread traded, perhaps having been supplied from a temple, where the most commonly mentioned joint of meat is the head. The Greek priest's oath in P. Washington 1 (Merkelbach (1968:17)), which includes the statement: 'οὐκ ἀφείρηκα κεφαλὴν ζώου', is probably a translation of the Egyptian 'Book of the Temple': see Quack (2016:273). For the head as scapegoat, see Stern (1991).

[34] See above.

> while pouring over it huge quantities of oil. They fast before performing the sacrifice, and everyone beats his breast in grief as the entrails are being burnt. Once they have finished grieving, they serve up the remaining bits of the entrails as a meal.

The account is not complete, because Herodotus does not say what happened to the 'legs, the very end of the rump, its shoulders, and its neck'; most likely these sections, containing the best meat, were cooked and consumed by elite members of the group. It is difficult to determine whether Herodotus' account is accurate or not, because we lack appropriate Egyptian sources. One apparent divergence is that in Egyptian texts, the foreleg of the animal is usually cut off; there are, however, Egyptian parallels for extracting the entrails and stuffing them with herbs.[35]

There are three key differences between Egyptian sacrifice as described by Herodotus and Greek sacrifice: firstly, the treatment of the 'innards' (*splanchna*), which in Greek sacrifice are always removed and grilled separately; secondly, the stress on burning rather than heating it by grilling or stewing with the express purpose of making it edible. The burning seems to reflect the practice of destroying the Seth-animals that we find in Egyptian sources.[36] Judged against Greek practice, Egyptian sacrifice as represented by Herodotus seems to combine the two main modes of sacrifice, the 'normal' sacrifice, where the victim is consumed, and the renunciatory holocaust, where you burn the animal to make it accessible to the lower gods. The third difference is the lamentation, which some have seen as reflecting the symbolism of the animal as Seth, who, though an enemy of the cosmic order, is still a god.[37] This makes it all the more remarkable that at no place in his account of the bull sacrifice does Herodotus explicitly mention its Sethian symbolism.

Whereas the bull sacrifice is presented as normal Egyptian practice, the sacrifice of pigs, which Herodotus describes a little later (2.47), is presented as abnormal, in so far as the consumption of pigs is usually taboo in Egypt, and their sacrifice is allowed on only one occasion in the year:[38]

> The only deities to whom the Egyptians are allowed to sacrifice pigs are Selene and Dionysus; both these rituals take place at the same time of the

[35] Foreleg cut off: Eggebrecht (1973:53–78); entrails: (ibid.:100–1); entrails and spices: Yoyotte (1980–1: 45–6). In general see Lloyd (1976–88 on this passage).

[36] See above. For Pausanias' account of the burning of birds in the Egyptian manner in the context of the cult of Isis at Tithorea, see Villing in this volume (Chapter 3).

[37] Lamentation for a sacrificed ram also at Herodotus, *Bib. hist.*2.42; also Lucian, *De sacrif.* 15. On lamentation and sacrifice, cf. W. R. Smith (1889:410–12; 430–1).

[38] For pig sacrifice in Egypt, see the penetrating discussion of Vernus (2012).

> month, at the full moon, and they first sacrifice the animals and then eat the flesh. The Egyptians have a story to explain why although pigs are taboo at all other festivals, they are sacrificed on this one occasion; but although I know it, it is an inappropriate tale to tell. The way pigs are offered to Selene is that the sacrificer lumps together the tip of the tail, the spleen, and the omentum, covers them with all the fat he can get from the region of the creature's belly, and then burns this mixture on the fire. The rest – that is, the flesh – is eaten on the day of the performance of the ritual, the day of the full moon; on any other day, they would not eat it.

Remarkably, Herodotus' account is roughly right: pigs were indeed sacrificed at a full moon festival in the month of Pachon (May) in a ritual later known as Liloition.[39] Notice that again the ritual combines destruction of parts of the victim and the eating of other parts. As to the story that Herodotus knows but refuses to tell, Plutarch, probably reproducing Manetho, reports that the sacrificed pig represents Seth who attacked the corpse of Osiris, which he found when he was hunting a pig at the full moon.[40] It seems likely that this is similar to the story that Herodotus claims to know, which suggests that he may have known that the sacrificial pig was supposed to represent Seth.

Why then does Herodotus not mention Sethian symbolism in his account of bull sacrifice? Perhaps it was unknown to him, or perhaps he knew but he thought it was unimportant. In this context, it is perhaps worth remembering that Herodotus held the unconventional view that most of Greek religion had been imported from Egypt in the distant past (*Bib. hist.*2.49–51); could his desire to make a general case for this perhaps have led him to emphasise what Egyptian sacrifice had in common with Greek and to downplay or ignore the differences? That is, to present it as a ritual performance consisting of a series of micro-actions (pre-kill, kill, post-kill), and to ignore the decidedly unGreek Sethian symbolism?

Another strand in the complex Greek view of Egyptian animal sacrifice was that Egyptians, as animal worshippers, tended to avoid animal sacrifice and meat eating, either selectively, always, or once upon a time. We have already seen that Herodotus says that for Egyptians animal sacrifice is allowed only exceptionally (2.45): 'theirs is a people for whom the sacrifice of beasts is unholy, except for pigs, bulls, bull-calves – that is such as are

[39] Bonneau (1991); Vernus (2012:1072). A pig was offered at Edfu on the 15th of Pachons according to Grimm (1994:105) G49; cf. Kees (1942:72).

[40] *On Isis and Osiris* 8, 354a; so also Manetho, fr.81Waddell = Aelian *NA* 10.16. For the Egyptian background, see Vernus (2012:210–11).

pure – and geese'. A more extreme version of this is found in the comic poet Anaxandrides (fourth century BC):[41]

> You worship the cow, but I sacrifice it to the gods. You hold the eel to be a mighty divinity, we hold it by far the mightiest of dainties.

Other sources tell us that during the Isiac Mysteries, vegetarianism was enforced and that priests were sometimes vegetarian.[42]

The philosopher Theophrastus seems to have held the view that in the distant past Egyptians were vegetarians, and that at this time the first sacrifices were of plants:[43]

> It seems to be an incalculably long time since the most rational race of all, as Theophrastus says, dwelling in the most sacred region created by the Nile, started from the beginning to sacrifice to the heavenly gods first-fruits. [These were] not of myrrh or cassia and frankincense mixed with saffron; for it was many generations later that these were added, when man, becoming nomadic and searching for the necessities of life, offered with much suffering and many tears drops of these first fruits to the gods. Earlier, therefore, they were not accustomed to offer these things, but the sprout of a plant, as if plucking with their hands some fine down of the generative nature.

Theophrastus' picture of the primeval Egyptians as vegetarians is a complete contrast to Manetho's claim that early Egyptians performed human sacrifice. Scholars who find it unlikely that a fourth-century Greek philosopher could have known authentic Egyptian traditions[44] will be inclined to the view that Theophrastus is inventing this, using the Egyptians as an example of a general view of primitivism, and perhaps projecting onto Egypt the practices of Orphics and Pythagoreans whom Herodotus believed (2.81) to have drawn on Egyptian material.[45]

Considering that Manetho is one of our main sources for Egyptian animal sacrifice, it is a surprise to find that he also portrayed the Egyptians as tending to avoid it. In an excerpt from his *Aiguptiaka* cited by Josephus in *Against Apion* (609F10a Jacoby), Manetho narrated the expulsion of the proto-Jews from Egypt. Here Osariph and his lepers,

[41] *PCG* 40 (*Poleis)*; Smelik and Hemelrijk (1984:1882).

[42] Mysteries: Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 2; Haussleiter (1935:35); vegetarianism: Chaeremon the Stoic (fr.10van den Horst) cited in Porphyry *Abst.* 4.7.

[43] Porphyry, *Abst.* 2.26 (= Fortenbaugh et al. (1992:2.405–7, fr.584A). For the intellectual context, see Schwabl (1978:838–9).

[44] Notice, however, that both Aristotle (*Pol.* 7.9.1, 4 [1329b 4, 25]) and Dicaearchus (fr.57a, b, 58a, b) seem to have had information about the legendary Egyptian king Sesostris, which might derive from contemporary Egyptian sources.

[45] For a rare criticism of sacrifice in an Egyptian source, see Griffiths (1991).

having taken control of Avaris (a 'Typhonian' city: *Against Apion* 1.238), define themselves by distancing themselves from Egyptian practice (*Against Apion* 1.239), deciding neither to worship the gods nor to abstain from sacred animals, but to sacrifice and dispose of them all.[46] Then Osariph sends for the 'Shepherds' who are in Jerusalem (having been expelled from Egypt centuries before), and rather than fight the combined armies, the pharaoh Amenophis flees with the sacred animals to Ethiopia. Thereupon the invaders (*Ap.* 1.249):[47]

> habitually used the very sanctuaries as kitchens for roasting the venerated sacred animals, and forced the priests and prophets to sacrifice and butcher them.

So at least by contrast with the Osariph, the lepers, and the Shepherds (who for the purposes of this narrative are the ancestors of the Jewish people), the Egyptians are abstemious with respect to sacrifice.[48]

On the face of it, this seems inconsistent with Egyptian attitudes to sacrificing animals that we have seen elsewhere. In fact, the inconsistency is largely that between Egyptian attitudes towards different categories of animals, between the way they regarded ordinary animals and the special religious status given to some groups.[49] Reverence for sacred animals seems to have become more intense in the Egyptian Late Period (664–332 BC), perhaps a response to foreign occupation.[50] In any case, by Manetho's time, there seem to exist two equally intense and only apparently inconsistent attitudes to animals, based on two symbolic values that animals could have: as incarnations and symbols of the other gods, they were to be protected, while as symbols of Seth and enemies of the cosmic order, they were to be destroyed.

Thus, Manetho's narrative of Amenophis and the Hyksos shows that the Egyptians saw themselves as refraining from killing and sacrificing animals, or at least doing it less and with greater discretion than other ethnic groups

[46] Cf. Apophis and Seqenenrec: Goedicke (1986:10) thinks this is human sacrifice (*rdi m3ʿ*).

[47] καὶ τοῖς ἀδύτοις (emend. Bekker) ὀπτανίοις τῶν σεβαστευομένων ἱερῶν ζώων χρώμενοι διετέλουν, καὶ θύτας καὶ σφαγεῖς τούτων ἱερεῖς καὶ προφήτας ἠνάγκαζον γίνεσθαι.

[48] Notice also that in Manetho fr.83 = Porphyry, *Abst.* 2.55, what replaced the sacrifice of humans was the sacrifice of wax figurines, not animals. Another cultural contrast involving sacrificial practice can be found in Giessen 99 (80–79 BC): 'they sacrifice sheep and goats, the opposite of our [native Egyptian] sacrifices' (text in Kornemann and Meyer (1910–12)).

[49] For sacred animals, see Ray (2001); also Meeks and Favard-Meeks (1997), 129–40; Hopfner (1913); for Greek reception, Smelik and Hemelrijk (1984).

[50] Ray (2001:346); Lloyd (1976–88:2.293). See Smelik and Hemelrijk (1984:1858–64).

they encountered. This in turn suggests that Theophrastus' account of primeval Egyptian vegetarianism could be based on Egyptian sources.

In this chapter I have tried to show that what Greeks say about Egyptian animal sacrifice is usually not greatly removed from reality, not just in the Hellenistic period when there was closer contact, but even earlier in the fifth and fourth centuries. It would be possible to extend this with further examples. For example, we have one more account of Egyptian sacrifice from the philosopher Iamblichus (third century AD), who has the Egyptian Abammon make the following statement:[51]

> The same absurd consequences result if, as do certain of our compatriots, one attributes the efficacy of sacrifices to numerical relationships, as for instance when one assigns the number sixty to the crocodile as being proper to the sun; or to natural-reason principles as exemplified by the powers and activities of certain animals, such as the dog, the baboon or the field-mouse, all of which have an affinity to the moon; or to the forms in matter, as in the case of sacred animals, where one looks at them from the point of view of their colours and all their bodily traits; or indeed anything else connected with the bodies of animals or of any of the other things which are offered in sacrifice; or if they reckon a particular organ of the body (such as, for instance, the heart of the cock), or any other such feature of a natural phenomenon as a cause of the efficacy of sacrifices.

This doctrine of numeral or other forms of symbolism might seem like a Neoplatonic or theurgic doctrine, and so essentially Greek. But Joachim Quack has recently argued that even here one may find echoes of Egyptian teachings about the symbolic value of things in the natural world.[52]

In the last few decades there has been a strong tendency among scholars to claim that statements by Greek writers about foreign peoples are in general unreliable, especially because their cultural presuppositions may lead them falsely to attribute exotic or inhumane behaviour to them. In the case of animal sacrifice and other offerings to the gods, the sheer range of behaviours attributed to the Egyptians, ranging from human sacrifice to vegetarianism, might lead one to imagine that Greek writers are at least to some extent inventing. Against this, I have tried to argue that Egyptian attitudes to animal sacrifice, in so far as the sources allow us to reconstruct them, are themselves complex and inconsistent, and include two radically opposed attitudes: on the one hand, 'the animal sacrifices we perform

[51] Iamblichus, *On the Mysteries* 5.8 (tr. Clarke, Dillon and Herchbell (2003:237–9)).
[52] Quack (2008b).

symbolise the destruction of the divine and human enemies of the cosmic order' and on the other hand, 'other ethnic groups perform indiscriminate animal sacrifice, but we do not'.

Even before the Hellenistic period, Greek writers who mention Egyptian animal sacrifice have some knowledge of it, and this is not surprising. Ancient civilisations were never isolated from each other, and there had always been a high degree of mobility between them, facilitating the exchange of ideas and information. Knowledge of how other people perform key rituals such as animal sacrifice would tend to spread, because these were perceived as central to a culture's identity. Notice also that some of the Egyptian ideas about animal sacrifice we have looked at are part of a wider discourse about the difference between them and foreigners: the enemies of the state whose destruction the killing of animals represents will often have been foreigners, and the purpose of Manetho's Amenophis narrative is to clarify the difference between Egyptians and the 'other'. Rather than thinking of Greek discourse about Egypt as an ideological fantasy of ethnic stereotyping, we might do better to think of the Greeks as long-term participants in a transcultural conversation among different ethnic groups of the Eastern Mediterranean, one topic of which will have been animal sacrifice, that most distinctive of cultural markers.

CHAPTER 12

A Quiet Slaughter? Julian and the Etiquette of Public Sacrifice

Sergio Knipe

In March 363, on his way to face the Persian army of Shapur II, the Roman emperor Flavius Claudius Julianus passed through the city of Batnae (modern Suruç, in south-eastern Turkey). Julian was pleased by the charming location of the city ("a densely wooded plain containing groves of young cypresses"), and more so by the fact that its inhabitants were pagan. Julian's reaction to the public expression of this religious identity, however, was not one of enthusiasm. In a letter composed a few weeks later, and addressed to the rhetor Libanius, the emperor remarks:

> throughout the country on all sides were fumes of frankincense, and everywhere I saw victims ready to be sacrificed. Yet, while this pleased me very much, it struck me as overheated zeal [θερμότερον], alien to proper reverence for the gods. For things sacred to the gods and holy ought to be away from the beaten path [ἐκτὸς πάτου] and performed in peace and quiet [καθ'ἡσυχίαν], by proceeding to that end alone and not as on the way to some other business.[1]

Julian's criticism in this passage raises some interesting questions. After delivering his verdict on the "overheated zeal" or "hastiness" of the citizens of Batnae,[2] the emperor added that "perhaps this matter will soon be given appropriate attention." His letter to Libanius, however, makes no further reference to either the Batnae incident or the nature of "proper reverence for the gods." What Julian found so disappointing in the public conduct of his co-religionists is by no means obvious: in what sense did Julian regard the sacrificial behavior at Batnae as inappropriate? In what terms did the emperor envisage "proper reverence for the gods"? And what, in the context of civic ritual, is the meaning of an expression like "in peace and quiet" (καθ'ἡσυχίαν)?

[1] Jul. *Ep*. 58 400c–d.

[2] The adjective θερμότερον, which following Wright (1913–23) I have translated as "overheated zeal," might equally be taken to mean "performed in haste."

An attempt to answer the above questions provides an occasion to examine Julian's approach to public worship. In what follows, I set out to elucidate the emperor's comments about Batnae by focusing on his understanding of sacrificial dynamics, ritual efficacy, and suitable religious conduct. In his many writings, Julian developed some of the most sophisticated reflections on sacrificial practice to survive from pagan antiquity. He did so at a time when through the spread of Christianity the significance of traditional ritual was becoming an increasingly relevant question for all followers of the old ways. Julian's attempt to redefine and reinstate sacrificial worship serves as a striking reminder of the enduring centrality of this practice, the very lifeblood of Greek pagan identity. The emperor's critical attention towards religious etiquette at Batnae – as we shall see – betrays a deeper concern for the underlying function of sacrifice: for how it operates and what it accomplishes. The best starting point for an enquiry into Julian's sacrificial etiquette and its wider implications is to be found in the ritual conduct of the emperor himself.

Julian as Victimarius

Almost fifteen months before arriving at Batnae, Julian had entered Constantinople as the legitimate heir to Constantius II.[3] Yet eleven months earlier, he had grudgingly attended the celebration of Epiphany in the cathedral of Vienne, where "he pretended to adhere to Christian worship, from which he had long since secretly departed."[4] However, by the time Julian was acclaimed ruler in the imperial capital, he had dropped the Christian mask[5] and plainly ordered that "temples be opened, victims brought to the altars and the worship of the gods restored."[6] Julian's stay in Constantinople was a brief one, but the pungent fragrance of roasted meat followed the emperor wherever fate led him: from the crowded streets of Antioch to the holy shrines of Pessinus, to the torrid banks of the Euphrates. In the winter of 363, about to head east with his army, Julian

> drenched the altars with the copious blood of victims far too frequently, at different times offering one hundred oxen, as well as countless flocks of various animals, and white birds hunted out from land and sea; to such an extent that almost every day his soldiers, stuffing themselves with meat, . . . indulged in banquets that deserved punishment rather than indulgence.[7]

[3] Amm. 22.2.1–5. [4] Amm. 21.2.4. [5] See Bowersock (1978: ch. 6). [6] Amm. 22.5.2.
[7] Amm. 22.12.6.

The eighteen months Julian spent on the imperial throne were marked by sacrifices so extravagant "that one might believe that if he had returned from the Parthians, there would have been a scarcity of cattle."[8] It is in these terms, at any rate, that the historian Ammianus Marcellinus chose to portray the religious devotion of Julian some three decades after his death.[9] Ammianus' narrative of the military campaign which he had once witnessed in person[10] stands as the centerpiece of his *Res Gestae*. While neither uncritical nor unproblematic, Ammianus' description of Julian is generally laudatory. As one recent commentator has noted, "Julian's reign is constructed in an exemplary fashion" by the pagan historian.[11] But if Ammianus portrayed Julian in largely positive terms, there is one aspect of the emperor's public conduct of which he disapproved: Julian's ostentatious devotion, which has been described as "le point d'incompréhension, sinon de friction, le plus grave, entre l'historien et son héros."[12] While the passages quoted above, with their hyperbolical language, are particularly apt at conveying the sense in which Ammianus frowned upon Julian's sacrificial conduct, they are not exceptional. When dealing with Julian, Ammianus appears to focus on sacrificial rites to an extent unusual for an author who has otherwise been accused of "giving insufficient weight to the religious preoccupations of his emperors."[13]

It has been argued that Ammianus' descriptions of sacrificial rites, while appearing "unmistakably critical in tone . . . do not concern these practices in themselves, but Julian's extravagance."[14] According to Ammianus, the emperor's public display of sacrificial zeal was unusual in a way that made him appear "superstitious [*superstitiosus*] rather than truly religious."[15] No doubt, Ammianus' Julian is a man who "in his relation to his invisible neighbors, adopted stances that clashed with the ideal of unaffected, unostentatious and unmanipulative relations current among his visible neighbors."[16] In the *Res Gestae*, not only is the scale of Julian's sacrifices

[8] Amm. 25.4.17. Cf. Lib. *Or.* 17.9 and 24.35, where it is said that Julian "sacrificed herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, out of doors or indoors, at night time or in daylight" and "in ten years offered more sacrifices than all the rest of the Greeks put together."

[9] On the life of Ammianus and the dating of his *Res Gestae*, see G. A. J. Kelly (2008: Introduction and ch. 3).

[10] See Amm. 23.5.7. [11] G. A. J. Kelly (2008: 316). Cf. Caltabiano (1998).

[12] Fontaine (1978: 63). [13] Matthews (1989: 446). [14] Boeft et al. (1995: 213).

[15] Amm. 25.4.17.

[16] This is Peter Brown's definition of *superstitiosus* (Brown 1978: 39). In Antiquity, the word *superstitio* was applied to forms of behavior seen to fall outside the sphere of religious acceptability: bizarre and foreign cults, manipulative or harmful ritual practices, and all forms of religious conduct regarded as excessive or unwarranted. For a more detailed discussion of the term (and its heterogeneous uses), see Calderone (1971), Grodzynski (1974), (Martin 2004: 10–20).

excessive, but religious zeal often makes the emperor and *pontifex maximus* act in an unseemly and embarrassing fashion:

> He was also called by many a slaughterer [*uictimarius*] instead of a high-priest, in allusion to the frequency of his sacrificial offerings, and he was fittingly criticized because for the sake of display he took pleasure in improperly carrying the sacred emblems in place of the priests.[17]

As Ammianus suggests, there is something disturbingly conspicuous in Julian's penchant for blood sacrifice. The *Res Gestae* hint at a certain impropriety on the emperor's part: a desire for direct sacrificial involvement seriously at odds with that ceremonial dignity and remoteness which distinguished Roman rulers in late antiquity.[18] Even among pagans, sacrificial displays of the sort favored by Julian were likely to elicit surprise and disapproval rather than religious enthusiasm.

No less striking is the fact that the emperor himself chose to emphasize the unusual frequency and scale of his religious ceremonies, and even expressed awareness of the criticism leveled at him on account of his sacrificial zeal. In a letter composed in 361 from his winter quarters at Naissus (in Dalmatia), Julian writes: "I worship the gods openly, and the main body of the army that is returning with me is religious. I sacrifice oxen in public. I have offered many hecatombs to the gods as thank-offerings."[19] In *The Beard-Hater* (*Misopogon*), a bitter work of satire composed in the early months of 363, the emperor refers to his own piety by putting mocking words into the mouths of the citizens of Antioch:

> The emperor sacrificed once in the temple of Zeus, then in the temple of Fortune; he visited the temple of Demeter three times in a row ... The Syrian New Year arrived, and again the emperor went to the temple of Zeus the Friendly One; then came the general festival, and the emperor went to the shrine of Fortun ... who could put up with an emperor who goes to the temples so often?[20]

For all their self-irony, Julian's own words are consistent with the descriptions provided by Ammianus. These narrative accounts all point to one crucial trait in the emperor's religious disposition: unconventional zeal.

[17] Amm. 22.14.3. Cf. Lib. *Or.* 12.80 and 82 ("[Julian] officiates in person, busies himself, fetches the wood, wields the knife, pens the birds and inspects their entrails ... For it would be strange, if he were personally to handle messages to his governors yet not fulfill his duties towards the gods with the same hands.")

[18] Concerning the "maverick" nature of Julian's ideal of kingship and his public conduct in the context of fourth-century perceptions of imperial ceremony, see Dvornik (1955: 77), Brown (1978: 39), Athanassiadi (1992: 113), Kelly (1998: 150).

[19] Wright (1913–23: vol. III: no.8).

[20] Jul. *Misopogon* 346b–c.

Julian appears to have been a peculiar sacrificer: an enthusiast who performed his rites freely and with little regard for public norms; one who was willing to overstep accepted boundaries to offer his victims with disproportionate frequency, personally taking care of ritual minutiae. What, by contrast, appears to be inconsistent in light of this picture is Julian's criticism of the sacrificial rites at Batnae: the incongruity between the harsh comments of Julian in his letter to Libanius and his own behavior as public sacrificer is all too evident. By praising rites performed "in peace and quiet" and criticizing more lavish, public ceremonies, the emperor might be accused of using double standards. After all, even while at Batnae, Julian recorded how he personally sacrificed "in the evening and then at early dawn, as I am in the habit of doing practically every day."[21] This question of inconsistency calls for a more precise definition of Julian's identity as public sacrificer.

A Theurgist on the Throne

To account for the sacrificial eccentricity of Julian, different explanatory factors have been invoked. Scholars agree that Julian was an unconventional worshipper, but disagree as to the reasons behind his frequently problematic behavior. Leaving aside two of the most common explanations – psychological inclination and anti-Christian sentiment[22] – Nicole Belayche has recently pointed to a third element that might account for Julian's sacrificial enthusiasm: his identity as a Neoplatonist theurgist.[23] According to Eunapius, the early fifth-century author of *The Lives of the Philosophers*, Julian was introduced to the theurgic doctrine of Iamblichus during his student days at Pergamon by Maximus of Ephesus.[24] Ammianus describes Maximus as "a famous philosopher, a man with a great reputation for erudition, as a consequence of whose rich discourses Julian the emperor acquired immense learning."[25] A commitment to Neoplatonist philosophy and an ardent admiration for Iamblichus unambiguously emerge from the pages of the emperor's own writing.[26] In the *Hymn to*

[21] Jul. *Ep.* 58.401b.

[22] For a "psychological" approach to Julian's religiosity, see Browning (1975: 193), Bowder (1978: 98), Bowersock (1978: 80 and 108), Bouffartigue (1989), Athanassiadi (1992: vii–x, 32, 98). For an interpretive approach that instead focuses more on the Christian past of the emperor, or on his conscious opposition to Christianity, see Corsini (1983), Bowersock (1990: 6), Cameron (1993: 25), Bradbury (1995), Fowden (1998: 547), Saggioro (2002: 237), Bringmann (2004: ch. 5).

[23] Belayche (2001). [24] Eun. *VS* 474. [25] Amm. 29.1.42.

[26] Julian revered and admired Iamblichus next to the gods, as "superior to all men" of his own time (*Or.* 7. 235a and 7.217b–c); he usually referred to him using epithets like "inspired," "divine" (*Or.* 4,

the Mother of the Gods, for instance, Julian prays: "as for me, grant me as fruit of my worship of you that I may have true knowledge in the doctrines about the gods, make me perfect in theurgy."[27]

The role played by Neoplatonist doctrine in shaping Julian's religious outlook has been emphasized by many scholars, most notably in the last thirty years by Glen Bowersock and Polymnia Athanassiadi.[28] Julian – John Matthews observed – "was devoted to theurgy, not as a dilettante to something he happens to find colourful and exotic, but as a serious philosopher to a technique central to his philosophy."[29] Where Belayche's contribution proves particularly valuable is in its attempt to present Julian's commitment to theurgy as the crucial element in shaping his approach to blood sacrifice. According to Belayche, the emperor's identity as theurgist provides the most likely explanation for his need for frequent and direct involvement in sacrificial practice. Given the importance of blood sacrifice in the religious thought of Iamblichus and his followers, it is only natural that Julian should wish personally to engage in frequent acts of sacrificial worship in an attempt to cultivate divine favor.[30]

In *De mysteriis*, a treatise written some sixty years before Julian's accession to the imperial throne, Iamblichus presents theurgy as a cult intellectually ordained from the beginning according to the sacred laws of the gods, imitating the divine order and revealing the inexpressible through ineffable symbols.[31] In practice, theurgy consisted of a series of rituals intended to elevate the human soul above the material realm. While theurgy was a strictly esoteric doctrine, and one based on sophisticated metaphysical premises, it embraced all forms of traditional religiosity. Sacrifice, in particular, was seen as an important means of establishing communion with the gods: of purifying the soul while also securing material prosperity. Theurgists who, like Iamblichus and Maximus, were

157c, 7.222b, 6.188b), "god-like" (*Ep*. 45.401b) and "famous hierophant" (Fr. 4). On Julian's regard for Iamblichus, see Belayche (2001: 475–6 and 483–4). For Julian's similarly flattering treatment of Maximus, see Jul. *Ep*. 12.383a and 26.415a–b, *Or*. 7.235a.

[27] Jul. *Or*. 5.180b. Cf. *Or*. 6.183a and 7.235a, *Ep*. 8.441a and 47.434d.

[28] In particular, see Bowersock (1978: 86 and 92–3) and Athanassiadi (1992: 185–7). Cf. (most recently) Fowden (1998: 543–8), Moreschini (1998), Renucci (2000: chs. 3 and 4), Bringmann (2004: 29–35, 40–41, 79–82, 111 and 119–20), Rosen (2006: 97–109, 232 and 299–300).

[29] Matthews (1989: 124).

[30] On the central place of sacrificial worship in the philosophy of Iamblichus, see Shaw (1995: ch. 13) and Clarke (2001: ch. 3).

[31] See, in particular, *Myst*. 65.3–9. Concerning the life of Iamblichus and the underlying principles of his theurgic doctrine, see Shaw (1995); van Liefferinge (1999); Clarke (2001); Clarke, Dillon, and Herchbell (2003: Introduction).

aware of the transcendent significance of religious ceremonies, could thus make conscious use of them to pursue spiritual goals.

By stressing Julian's identity as Iamblichean theurgist, what Belayche's reading suggests is the idea of an esoteric dimension to the emperor's sacrifices: behind the bloody and potentially grotesque facade of Julian's sacrificial slaughter, intricate philosophical dynamics were at work. This emphasis on the esoteric side of Julian's religiosity ultimately implies a disjunction between what Julian's sacrifices appeared to be, and what they were believed or hoped to be by the emperor himself. If Julian's sacrificial displays might have seemed distasteful, superstitious, or even shocking to his contemporaries, they were nevertheless motivated by strong doctrinal concerns. For Belayche, it is clear that through philosophical initiation Julian acquired new ritual expertise that allowed him to conceive of sacrificial practice in a specific and meaningful way: "Les rituels, et avant tout les sacrifices, dont il prend le cérémoniel dans la tradition romaine, aident à accueillir la lumière divine qui est déjà en nous."[32] An acquired sense of ritual competence and authority is here identified as the defining feature of the emperor's approach to sacrifice.

Belayche's approach to Julian's sacrificial conduct proves highly useful, insofar as it helps address some of the more problematic issues raised by an engagement with contemporary accounts. What Belayche does not discuss at any length in her work is the way in which Julian's philosophical background might have affected his understanding of *public* sacrifice. Viewing Julian's sacrificial comportment as largely the expression of esoteric concerns, however, certainly makes a difference to the way in which we envisage the emperor's attitude to the religion of others. If Julian's devotion to blood sacrifice was an integral component of his philosophical quest as Iamblichean theurgist, evidence suggests that philosophical notions of piety and purity also informed his understanding of sacrificial efficacy more generally. A first hint in this direction comes from Julian's treatment of that "religious other" which he despised the most.

The issue of anti-Christian persecution is central to the definition of Julian's religiosity. If Julian possessed such a passionate devotion for blood sacrifice and an aversion to Christianity, why did he not choose to publish a general edict forcing all his subjects to sacrifice? The question is certainly a legitimate one, given that only sixty years before Julian, Maximinus Daia, whose reorganization of the pagan priesthood is often cited as a likely

[32] Belayche (2001: 484).

influence on Julian's cultic reform,[33] had instructed his own citizens to sacrifice to the gods.[34] Even before Maximinus, and a hundred years before Julian, the emperor Decius had taken the radical step of imposing "a kind of orthopraxy" through the definition of sacrifice as "the minimal cult behaviour expected of all Romans."[35] Given such notable precedents and Julian's commitment to sacrificial practice, why did the last pagan emperor choose *not* to enforce sacrifice?

Leaving aside possible suggestions that Julian was either planning a persecution on his return from Persia, or that persecution was simply not a viable or convenient option for him at the time,[36] an intriguing answer can be found in the emperor's own writing. Here, on more than one occasion, Julian explicitly denies the intention of compelling Christians to worship the gods out of piety:

> Not allowing a single one of them to be dragged to the altars against his will, I expressly proclaim that, if anyone willingly chooses to take part in our lustral rites and libations, he ought first to offer sacrifices of purification and supplicate the gods who avert evil. So far am I from ever having wished or intended that anyone of those impious men should partake in the sacrifices that we most revere, until he has purified his soul by supplications to the gods, and his body by the customary purifications.[37]

The above words, which the emperor addressed to the citizens of Bostra, illustrate the main reasoning behind Julian's policy of religious toleration: if Christianity was a disease of the soul, as the emperor was always quick to remark,[38] then Christian participation in the holy ceremonies of pagan religion would only contaminate what is most pure. The passage also points to another important feature of Julian's religious disposition: the

[33] Cf. Nicholson (1994), Bradbury (1995: 351), R. Smith (1995: 15 and 110), Fowden (1998: 560), Bringmann (2004: 129), Rosen (2006: 300).

[34] See Lactant. *De mort. persec.* 36.4–5. More generally on the religious policy of the Tetrarchic emperors, see Rees (2004: ch. 5).

[35] Rives (1999: 153). Rives here also refers to Valerian's edict as a parallel, quoting *Acta Cypriani* 1 ("all those who do not practice Roman religion ought to acknowledge Roman rites.")

[36] According to Bowersock (1978: 91), the emperor's policies appear to have been "edging close to persecution" towards the end of his reign. A similar line is adopted by Browning (1975: 185) and Renucci (2000: 315). By contrast, other scholars (for instance, Bringmann (2004: 86 and 90)) reject the suggestion that Julian was planning any persecutions on the basis of an assumption first formulated by Libanius. According to the rhetor, Julian, "seeing that the influence of his opponents increased with persecution . . . shunned methods he disapproved of: those who could be cured he began directing towards the truth, but he would not force those leading a baser way of life" (*Or.* 18.123).

[37] Jul. *Ep.* 41.436c–d. Cf. *Ep.* 21.380c, 36.423a, 424a and 40.424e, Amm. 22.5.3.

[38] See, for instance, Jul. *Ep.* 12.383a, 41.438c, 58.401c and 69.412d, *CG* 327b, *Or.* 7.229d. Cf. Lib. *Or.* 13.42 and 18.121–2, 160, 281.

notion that a sacrificial rite is only effective insofar as it is conducted with a pious mind and appropriate spiritual awareness. The idea that "without piety . . . even the Olympian sacrifice of a thousand oxen is merely empty expenditure and nothing else" frequently occurs in Julian's writing.[39] In one instance, the emperor justifies Diogenes' piety by arguing that the Cynic philosopher never worshipped in the temples because he:

> possessed none of the things that are usually offered: neither incense nor libations nor money to buy these with. But if he held right opinions about the gods, this was enough; for he worshipped them with his very soul, thus offering them the most precious of his possessions: the dedication of his soul through his thoughts.[40]

On another occasion, the emperor morosely recorded how, among the Cappadocians, "some refuse to sacrifice, and although some few are zealous, they lack knowledge."[41]

Bearing in mind Julian's philosophical emphasis on sacrificial purity and religious awareness, it is worth turning once more to the episode at Batnae. One of the questions initially raised in relation to this curious incident was whether Julian should be seen as guilty of using a double standard when judging the sacrificial displays of others. This question can now be answered affirmatively: Julian *was* using a double standard, insofar as he viewed the rites performed by those who lacked appropriate piety and knowledge as little more than superficial displays. By denouncing the lavish appearance of the sacrifices at Batnae, Julian might be implying that these public rites were only empty shells, lacking the proper reverence and concentration, purity and devotion. In other words, it might be the case that in Julian's view, the citizens of Batnae scurrying through the busy streets and dragging victims to the altars were sacrificing only externally, as Christians would when compelled to worship the gods. And as successful sacrifice depends as much on one's inner disposition as it does on conformity to proper ritual action, Julian could hardly be expected to regard the citizens of Batnae, for all the pomp and grandeur of their ceremonies, as genuine sacrificers.

The incident at Batnae usefully points to what Julian considered to be the crucial traits of religious worship: sincere devotion on the part of the practitioner, religious focus, and awareness. But the episode also raises some interesting questions as to the practical implications of Julian's outlook on public ritual. Given the nature of Julian's criticism, what requires

[39] Jul. *Or.* 7.213d–214a. Cf. 239c. [40] Jul. *Or.* 6.199b. [41] Jul. *Ep.* 35.375c.

further attention is the way in which he chose to envisage appropriate sacrificial conduct. Ultimately, any attempt to elucidate this point depends on how we wish to interpret Julian's claim that "things that are sacred to the gods and holy ought to be away from the beaten path and performed in peace and quiet." On the one hand, given his background as a Neoplatonist theurgist, it is not unusual for Julian to be referring to rites "off the beaten path": while supportive of traditional cult ceremonies, theurgy was primarily an esoteric pursuit, based on the individual performance of secret rituals. It would be possible to argue, therefore, that appropriate sacrificial conduct, for Julian, coincided with the private ritual action of Iamblichean philosophers such as himself. This, however, is unlikely to have been the case: for not only did the emperor engage in public religious ceremonies to a far greater extent than was expected of him as *pontifex maximus*, but Julian was also evidently pleased that his subjects, and the citizens of Batnae, were collectively worshipping the gods.

To make sense of Julian's criticism, I believe that the expressions "off the beaten track" and "in peace and quiet," as ἐκτὸς πάτου and καθ'ἡσυχίαν are usually translated into English, should be read figuratively rather than literally, to describe a specific sacrificial attitude: what Johannes Geffcken termed a "spiritualizing" understanding of sacrifice.[42] In particular, the term ἡσυχία, which was commonly used to convey the meaning of "peace," "quiet," and "silence" (as opposed to unrest or even war), should here be seen to possess a religious connotation: ἡσυχία standing for the collected, religious silence of the ritual ("le calme intérieur, opposé à l'inquiétude et à la crainte").[43] In this light, Julian's criticism of what he had witnessed at Batnae assumes a wider significance: far from dismissing the cult of ordinary citizens, the emperor in his letter to Libanius appears to be complaining that the public worship conducted at Batnae lacks those subtle qualities which render sacrificial cult truly efficacious. Julian's remarks in this context clearly agree with what the emperor had to say on other occasions with regard to Christians (unsuitable sacrificers) or Cappadocians (zealots who lacked real knowledge).

Julian's disappointment at Batnae, then, can be said to reveal some highly distinctive features in his approach to blood sacrifice. The Neoplatonist background of Julian, which Belayche usefully invoked to explain the eccentric nature of his personal commitment to sacrificial

[42] Geffcken (1978: 132).

[43] Spicq (1978: 360). The term ἡσυχία, which could also mean "solitude" or "sequestered place," later came to be employed by Christian authors to describe both prayer and the contemplative life of the monk.

practice, can also be invoked to elucidate the emperor's attitude to public worship. Civic cult, for Julian, was a ritual process the efficacy of which could not be guaranteed in the absence of adequate religious standards: individual piety and awareness were not optional requirements but prerequisites towards the successful performance of sacrifice. The implications of Julian's philosophical approach to sacrifice are far-reaching: if for no other reason, because the emperor is best remembered today as the last champion of paganism. The theurgic ideals that so deeply informed Julian's perspective on pagan worship, prompting him to react with bitterness at the superficial displays at Batnae, also deeply impinged on his action as a religious reformer. Taking account of the central theurgic features in the sacrificial outlook of Julian thus clearly makes a difference to the way in which we envisage his public religious policy. Besides suggesting one possible reason why the emperor might have chosen to avoid persecution, Julian's concern for ritual purity provides an alternative perspective on his attempt at pagan restoration.

Religious Reform and the Restoration of Sacrificial Efficacy

As Roman emperor and *pontifex maximus*, Julian, unlike his philosophical colleagues, possessed the means not merely to pass judgment upon the sacrificial comportment of others, but also to shape their religious behavior through political action. The influence of Neoplatonism upon Julian's attempt at pagan restoration, however, has been either downplayed by modern commentators, or conceived in strictly ideological terms. The latter perspective is best illustrated by the work of Polymnia Athanassiadi, for whom Julian "attempted to formulate the dogmas of paganism."[44] A similar position is favored by those commentators keen to suggest that Julian's religious reforms were primarily aimed at developing a "pagan orthodoxy" to challenge Christianity.[45] By contrast, Rowland Smith has rejected the claim that Julian's project "was principally shaped by the wish to create a pagan Church on the base of a rival Neoplatonic monism": Julian "was not out to impose a uniform pattern on pagan thought and

[44] Athanassiadi (1992: 141). Athanassiadi adopted the same approach in a more recent book, exploring the formation of "pagan orthodoxy" within late-antique Neoplatonist philosophy. Here she concludes that the actions of Julian ("le jeune calife du paganism") were informed by the same ideas of orthodoxy that shaped the lives of Christians and Muslims: "La logique de l'empereur Julien ne diffère nullement de celle de Proclus et d'Umar, même si nous devons reconnaître à ses paroles un stade d'intolérance moins avancé" (Athanassiadi (2006: 57)). See too Athanassiadi (2002).

[45] Notable examples of this approach can be found in Bowder (1978: 102–3) and Bringmann (2004: 120).

practice."[46] While acknowledging the philosophical background of the emperor, Smith maintains that "the religion of Julian is not finally to be explained in terms of his philosophy";[47] rather that:

> Iamblichean theurgy impinged on him deeply, to be sure; but it was a part of his personal credo, not the whole of it. It belonged principally to the philosophic piety of the private man, telling him how the universe cohered and the happy fate that awaited his soul.[48]

The conclusions reached in the previous sections of this chapter, in the attempt to elucidate Julian's attitude to public worship, suggest an altogether different way of envisaging the influence of philosophy on the religious project of the emperor. Smith's analysis, while accurate in its portrayal of Julian's political ideology, underestimates the extent to which theurgy affected both his perception of kingship and his religious policy. Against Smith, I would argue that philosophical doctrine not only played an important role in shaping Julian's personal religious convictions, but that it also informed his actions on a public, political level. Yet against Athanassiadi, I would argue that the influence of philosophy on Julian's reign emerges not in any attempt to formulate the "dogmas of paganism," but in the emperor's desire to secure and foster effective means of worship. The *raison d'être* of Julian's career as a "reformer of polytheism"[49] lies precisely in his championship of effective forms of sacrificial cult: a philosophical concern that is among the most distinctive features of Julian's religious endeavor.

One central trait in Julian's self-identity as the champion of paganism that unambiguously emerges from the Batnae incident is the emperor's conviction that the mere performance of sacrificial actions is not enough to secure the enduring favor of the gods: there was more to sacrificial cult, for Julian, than the ritualized slaughter of animals and the burning of incense. As emperor and *pontifex maximus*, Julian clearly perceived his primary duty as that of guiding his subjects towards genuine worship. The necessary "external" measures taken by Julian towards a restoration of cult won him the traditional epithets of *restaurator templorum* and ἀνανεωτὴς τῶν ἱερῶν;[50] yet to prove effective, these measures had to be integrated by a transformative action on a deeper level. While Julian could decree the

[46] R. Smith (1995: xv and 222). Smith is here reacting against Athanassiadi's definition of Hellenism as "the monotheistic universal faith systematized by the emperor" (Athanassiadi (1992: 181)). Cf. Bowersock (1978: 86).

[47] R. Smith (1995: 221). [48] R. Smith (1995: 113). [49] Fowden (1998: 543).

[50] On the surviving inscriptions commemorating Julian in these terms, see Negev (1969), Bowersock (1978: 123–4), Arce (1984: 164), Oikonomides (1987), Eck (2000), Bringmann (2004: 83–4).

material execution of given sacrificial ceremonies, he could not guarantee the spiritual effectiveness of these rites. Without virtuous and knowledgeable practitioners, Julian's restoration of the temples would have proven useless: it would merely have encouraged the kind of empty sacrificial display the emperor criticized at Batnae. His restoration of sacrificial worship was as much about quality as it was about quantity.

When Julian became emperor, perhaps the most significant step he wished to take towards the restoration of pagan worship was to cultivate the aptness and integrity of those who were to sacrifice in his place. The emperor strove to ensure that each civic community would have a competent figure to mediate its relation with the divine, in such a way as to regulate the process of religious interaction on which his own salvation and the prosperity of his subjects depended.[51] Julian bestowed the greatest rank and authority on his priests. As living links connecting men to the gods, in the mind of the emperor, priests deserved to be among the most powerful men in the Empire.[52] This new emphasis on the dignity of the priestly class entailed onerous responsibilities, as Julian believed priests to "minister to us what concerns the gods and contribute to the gods' gifts of good things to us: for they sacrifice and pray on behalf of all men."[53] Accordingly, members of the priesthood were expected to prove sufficiently knowledgeable, virtuous, and pious to undertake sacrificial assignments with effectiveness.

Scholars seeking to portray Julian's policy of restoration as an attempt to establish a "pagan Church" have made much of the emperor's letters to his priests. Once described as "encyclicals" officially distributed to oversee the education of the pagan priesthood, these letters are now thought to possess a more private and less systematic character.[54] In particular, a re-evaluation of Julian's correspondence has become necessary following Peter van Nuffeln's compelling suggestion that the so-called *Letter to Arsacius*

[51] "For the gods have ordered priests to honor them with their nobility of character and the practice of virtue, and to perform the necessary rituals; but it is fitting for the city, I believe, to offer both private and public sacrifice" (Jul. *Misopogon* 362d).

[52] See Jul. *Letter to a Priest* 289a and 296c and *Ep*. 18 esp. 450d ff. [53] Jul. *Letter to a Priest* 296b.

[54] Five letters of Julian to members of his priesthood are usually included among the emperor's correspondence: two *To a Priest* (one of which is *Ep*. 19), two *To the High Priest Theodorus* (*Ep*. 16 and 20), and one *To Arsacius, High–Priest of Galatia* (*Ep*. 22). Asmus (1896) notably suggested that these letters were part of a lost corpus which Julian had first published in the form of "encyclicals." Mario Mazza has explicitly rejected Asmus' approach, and instead described the surviving letters as "un profondo, appassionato, ed a volte disorganico, discorso sul ruolo e sulla funzione del sacerdote pagano" (Mazza (1998: 38)). Nevertheless, most contemporary studies of Julian still portray these letters as "encyclicals." For some recent examples, see O'Meara (2003: 122), Renucci (2000: 325), Athanassiadi (2006: 68), Rosen (2006: 297 and 300).

might be a fifth-century fabrication.[55] The value of Julian's correspondence now appears to lie not in its "pastoral overtones,"[56] but in its character as "un cours de philosophie morale.'[57] Their content is indicative of Julian's own perception of cult and of how priests should act towards the promotion of public worship. Like a "Mirror of Princes,"[58] these letters prove valuable for the ideal of priesthood they project: an ideal entirely consistent with Julian's philosophical understanding of sacrificial dynamics.

Julian's approach to the pagan priesthood, as it emerges from his own writing, reflects a belief best voiced by the Neoplatonist philosopher Porphyry: if priests "think they honor the gods and believe in the existence of the gods, yet neglect to be virtuous and wise, they negate and dishonor the gods."[59] Julian wished his priests to act as servants of the gods,[60] sacrificing, like himself, twice a day, at dawn and dusk.[61] Priests were expected to keep pure and free "from ... shameful acts"[62] by avoiding pastimes such as the theatre and public games, or the reading of licentious literature;[63] and were instructed to devote themselves to philosophy instead, studying the works of the true philosophers within the sacred precincts of the temples.[64] Because of the moral and intellectual foundation of Julian's reformed priesthood, priests were expected to be appointed not on the basis of rank or wealth, but of spiritual worth:[65] a principle best illustrated by the emperor's appointment of theurgists Theodorus and Chrysanthius as high priests.[66]

In a world where civic priesthood was closely related to political office,[67] Julian's religious vision constitutes an extraordinary step towards

[55] Van Nuffeln (2002). The *Letter to Arsacius* proved a particularly valuable document in support of the view that Julian was attempting to establish a "pagan Church" because it explicitly refers to the feeding of the poor as one of the duties of a pagan priest. As van Nuffeln suggests, whoever wrote this letter projected a Christian model of ecclesiastical charity on the religious policy of the emperor.

[56] Gibbon (1896: 447). The same expression is found in Athanassiadi (1992: 163).

[57] Van Nuffeln (2002: 143).

[58] This analogy is found in O'Meara (2003: 122).

[59] Porph. *Ad Marc*. 23.

[60] See Jul. *Letter to a Priest* 297a.

[61] See Jul. *Ep*. 89b.302ab. Cf. Lib. *Or*. 12.80–1 and 18.127.

[62] Jul. *Letter to a Priest* 300c.

[63] See Jul. *Letter to a Priest* 302d–303a and 304b.

[64] See Jul. *Letter to a Priest* 300d, 300c–301c, 302d–303a, 304d.

[65] "I say that in all cities the best men, and especially those who show most love for the gods, followed by those who show most love for their fellow men, must be appointed, whether they be poor or rich: let there be no distinction here whether they are unknown or well known" (Jul. *Letter to a Priest* 305a).

[66] See Eun. *VS* 478 and 501; Jones, Martindale and Morris (1971: 110 and 787). According to Eunapius, Chrysanthius had studied for some time with Maximus of Ephesus "and like him was passionately absorbed in divine inspiration" (*VS* 474). The two men were summoned to join the emperor on his Persian campaign, but Chrysanthius declined the offer on account of negative omens.

[67] On the close relation between socio-political status and civic priesthood in the ancient world, see Szemler (1972) and Gordon (1990: 194).

a redefinition of the priestly class as an entirely new caste. The sacrificial ideal voiced in Julian's writing is something more than a philosophical trope: for it is grounded in a concrete concern for sacrificial efficacy. With his public reform, it is as if the emperor sought to correct the irreligious course of the world by providing each community with an exemplar of effective sacrificial worship. Just as Julian himself acted as a model for his priesthood, his priests were expected to act as models for the citizens under their religious jurisdiction, "as an example of what they ought to preach the people": "reverence towards the gods."[68] Through a kind of religious trickle-down effect, Julian was hoping to extend the virtues of sacrificial piety from the priests to the rest of his subjects, the former instructing the latter "not to transgress the law of the gods."[69]

Julian's aspiration to educate his priesthood testifies to the indissoluble link between pagan identity and organized sacrificial worship: no attempt to reinforce the old religion could be made without directly engaging with the central cult act that lay at its basis. Julian's concern for piety as a prerequisite for worship in turn expresses a very particular and philosophically informed view on the question of sacrificial efficacy. It reminds us that what was primarily at stake in the ancient debate over blood sacrifice was its function as a bridge between two worlds, the human and the divine. Julian's career shows how an ancestral ritual such as sacrifice could be reaffirmed in the fourth century by situating it within a sophisticated new intellectual framework; in doing so, it focuses our attention on the constitutive features of Greek sacrificial practice as such: on what sacrifice meant – or could mean – for those practicing it in the ancient world.

The edifying and educational character of Julian's reform makes it a truly unique project in the history of the Roman Empire. Julian's reform shared a willingness with the religious policies of Maximinus and Decius to take sacrificial conformity as a universal marker of religious legitimacy. So much so, in fact, that it sought to reintegrate even the Jews in the religious fabric of the Empire by rebuilding their cult edifice in Jerusalem: for in the sacrificial rites of the Jewish people Julian identified a proof of the antiquity and authenticity of their religion – as opposed to Christianity, the only mass movement to have rejected sacrificial practice, and which the emperor denounced as a recent innovation.[70] Unlike his predecessors,

[68] Jul. *Letter to a Priest* 299b. [69] Jul. *Letter to a Priest* 288d–289a. Cf. 292d–293a.

[70] See, in particular, Jul. *CG* 43a–b, 100c, 141c–43b, 148c, 184b–90c, 218b–24d, 235b ff., 238b ff., 299c, 305e ff., 343c ff. and 354b ff., *Ep*. 20 454a–b, *Letter to a Priest* 295c–d, *Ep*. 47. On Julian's attitude to Judaism and his attempt to restore the temple of Jerusalem – which won him the label of "Zionist" (Allard (1901) and Wright (1913–23: vol. III: xxi)) – see Bregman (1995) and Hahn (2002).

however, Julian was unwilling to enforce sacrificial practice out of a philosophical regard for ritual purity. Julian's religious reform not only affected the practical organization of pagan worship in the Empire, but ideally pursued a transformative goal on a deeper level: the emperor understood his restoration of public temple worship as the more tangible side of a civic project based on an inner, moral revolution. This religious ideal of Julian is perhaps best conveyed in the words of Libanius:

> A happy city [Julian proclaimed] is one that is rich in temples and secret ceremonies, and contains within its walls countless holy priests who dwell in the sacred precincts and who, in order to keep everything within their gate pure, have expelled all that is superfluous and sordid and vicious from the city: public baths, brothels, retail shops and everything of the sort without exception.[71]

Julian's desire to shame the pagan priesthood into righteousness,[72] therefore, cannot be read as a mere indication of his "high regard for philosophy," as Smith would suggest.[73] Rather, it reflects a very concrete concern of the emperor: to nurture a new generation of ritual specialists, whose religious action would be informed by the same philosophical principles on which he himself based his own commitment to sacrificial practice. At the same time, Julian's desire to ensure the moral rectitude of his priests constituted less of an attempt to advance paganism as a righteous religion through the establishment of "pagan dogmas" than it did to safeguard the correct functioning of sacrificial ceremonies. The fact that the emperor wished to mediate public cult through a philosophical elite freed from the limitations of rank and wealth is indicative of his desire to ensure that the sacrificial rites offered by his subjects would prove effective in securing *pax deorum*. While there is little evidence to suggest that Julian possessed either the means or a willingness directly to enforce philosophical conformity, the role of Neoplatonist doctrine in shaping his religious policy was certainly conspicuous.

With his hero Iamblichus Julian shared an ideal of sacrificial practice as a necessary act of transcendent communion, an act that had to be informed by philosophical awareness, moral rectitude, and technical competence in order to prove effective. Theurgy, by definition, was the esoteric pursuit of a chosen few; *pax deorum* a condition that interested the Empire as a whole. Given these conditions, the securing of public religious prosperity for Julian largely remained the active responsibility of a chosen elite, to

[71] Lib. *Or*. 9.186d. [72] See Jul. *Ep*. 20.453a. [73] R. Smith (1995: 111).

which the populace could contribute through sincere prayers and virtuous conduct. As theurgist and sovereign, Julian placed himself at the head of this religious elite, and sought to promote piety by acting as a worthy exemplar. The emperor never intended theurgy to become of public interest, but hoped that the positive model of sacrificial devotion he and his philosophical peers embodied could contribute to changing the actions of his subjects for the better. At the basis of Julian's religious reform lay the very Roman concern with the peace of the gods; yet this traditional concern was mediated by a distinctly philosophical understanding of sacrificial dynamics. Far from pertaining merely to the intellectual sphere, Julian's sense of ritual expertise shaped his attempt at pagan restoration in a concrete way. Only by taking account of the philosophical dimension of Julian's religiosity, and its impact on his understanding of sacrificial worship, can the radical scope and nature of Julian's project be appreciated fully.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

*ARV*²	J. D. Beazley, *Attic red-figured vase-painters*. 2nd edn. Oxford, 1963.
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Berlin, 1863–.
CPG	*Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*. 2 vols. Göttingen, 1839–51.
DELG	P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Grecque*. 4 vols. Paris, 1968–80.
DNP	H. Cancik and H. Schneider (eds.), *Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike*. 19 vols. Stuttgart, 1996–2003; translated as *Brill's New Pauly* (2002–), from which the citations come.
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*. Berlin, 1873–.
IvP	*Die Inschriften von Pergamon: Altertümer von Pergamon*, vol. VIII: Berlin, 1890–1969; vol. II: *Römische Zeit*, ed. M. Fränkel. 1895; vol. III: *Die Inschriften des Asklepieions*, ed. C. Habicht. 1969.
KBo	*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*. Leipzig, 1916– [vols. I–VI], Berlin, 1954– [vols. VII–].
KUB	*Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*. Berlin, 1921–90.
LÄ	*Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, ed. W. Helck and E. Otto. 7 vols. Wiesbaden, 1975–92.
LfgrE	B. Snell et al. (eds.), *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*. Göttingen, 1955–2010.
LIMC	*Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*. 8 vols. Zürich and Munich, 1981–2009.
LSAM	F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*. Paris, 1955.
LSCG	F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*. Paris, 1969.
LSJ	Liddell and Scott, *Greek–English Lexicon*. 9th edn, rev. H. Stuart Jones. Oxford, 1925–40.
LSS	F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques. Supplément*. Paris, 1962.
NGSL	E. Lupu, *Greek Sacred Law: A Collection of New Documents*. Leiden, 2005.

NIK F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte: religionsgeschichtliche und epigraphische Untersuchungen zu den Kulten von Chios, Erythrai, Klazomenai und Phokaia*. Rome, 1985

*OCD*³ S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. 3rd edn. Oxford, 1995.

PCG R. Kassel and C. Austin, *Poetae comici Graeci*. 8 vols. Berlin, 1983–2001.

PHI Packard Humanities Institute, 'Searchable Greek Inscriptions', at epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/main

RE *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Stuttgart, 1894–1980.

SEG *Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum*. Leiden, 1923–.

Syll. W. Dittenberger and F. Hiller von Gaertringen (eds.), *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum*. 3rd edn. Leipzig, 1915–24.

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